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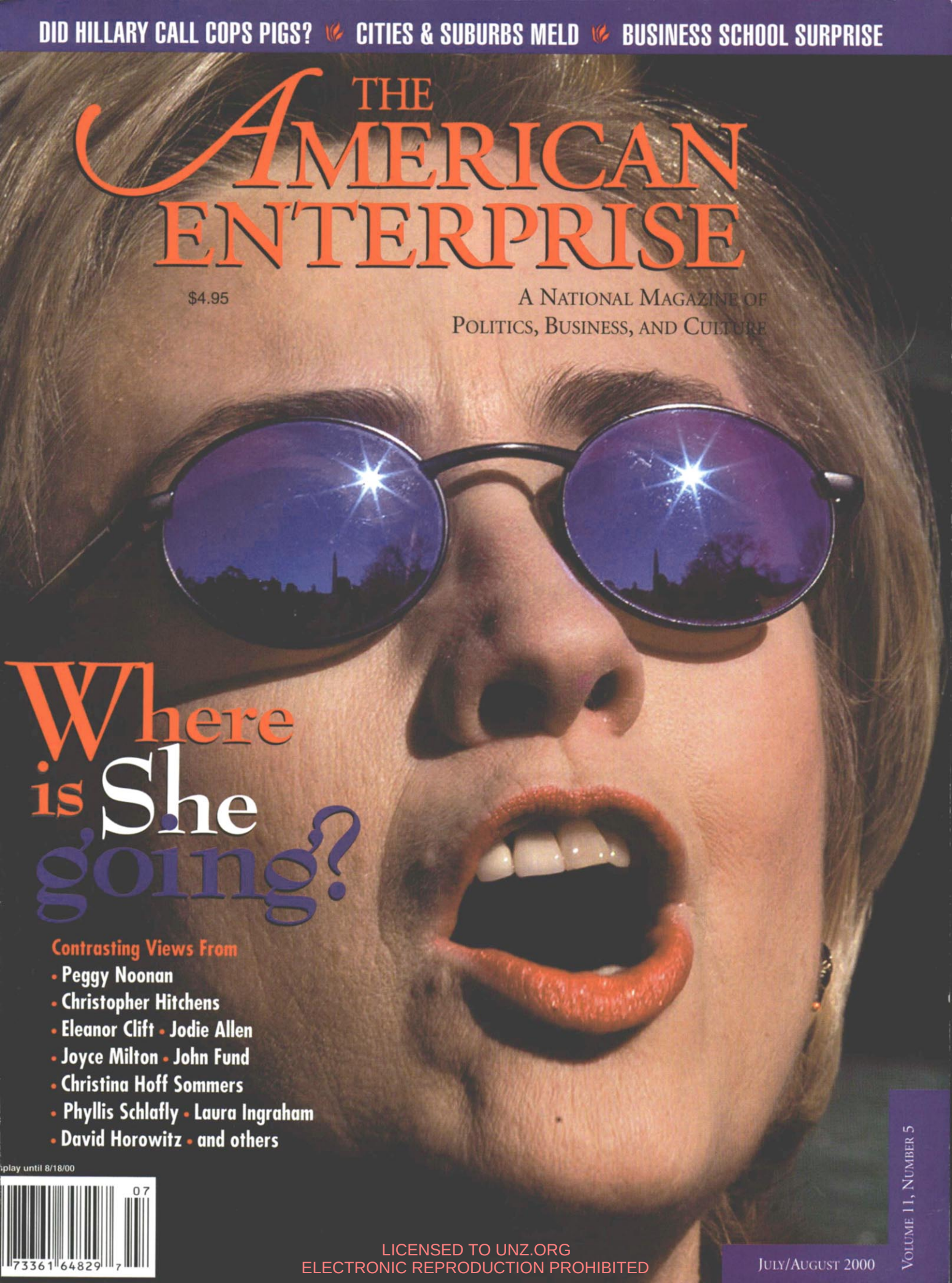

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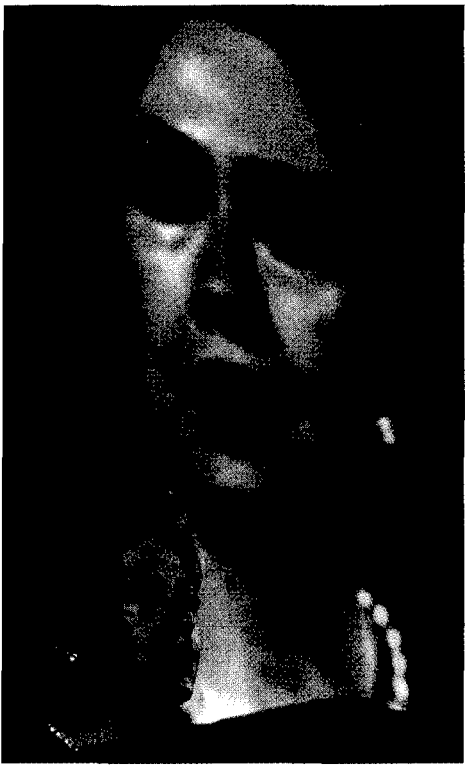

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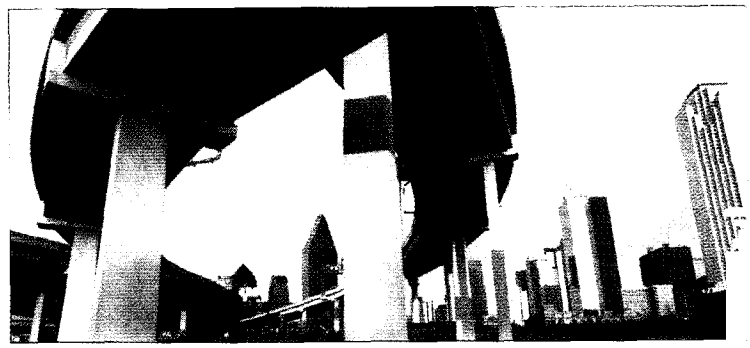

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Bird's Eye

Karl Zinsmeister

Can You Say Senator Clinton?

I'm a New Yorker; in fact, my children are sixth-generation New Yorkers. Specifically, we're upstaters—residents of a region that will cast close to 40 percent of the vote in the Hillary Clinton-Rick Lazio Senate race. Contrary to what many Americans think when they hear "New York," upstate is a very commonsensical, heavily rural, basically conservative part of the country. I've always said the American Midwest starts at the Hudson River, and my Syracuse-area neighbors vote much more like Ohioans or Kansans than like residents of Manhattan, Boston, or Washington. We are the swing electors who will make or break Hillary Clinton.

So how will she fare in our locale and statewide?

Well, the Hillary Clinton now running to represent my home in the Senate doesn't worry me. She is boring me stiff; but not saying anything particularly scary. Nonetheless, I believe anyone voting for her is running a terrible risk, for reasons I'll explain.

But first a word on where the essays you're about to read came from.

When America's First Lady made the unprecedented announcement that she would seek national office herself, and thereby extend the reign of "Clintonism" indefinitely into the future, this seemed like a natural subject for *The American Enterprise*. Particularly since so many critical questions about Mrs. Clinton remain unanswered despite her decade in the limelight: Is she a political genius (as some claim), or a political nitwit (as others say)? Is she any more attached to the truth than her husband? What is her legacy as First Lady? How will she try to change America if she is elected to the Senate? If not in the Senate, where will she and her husband exert their influences over the next 20 years?

It is precisely those kinds of questions that this issue answers. Our material stems from a live conference *TAE* organized in Washington, D.C., in concert with the Center for the Study of Popular Culture. We invited critics, defenders, and neutral observers of Mrs. Clinton's career to discuss her past and possible future. For, whatever else she does, it's clear there has never before been a campaign quite like hers:

• Top election handicapper Charles Cook of *National Journal* recently said hers was "surely shaping up to be the most closely watched U.S. Senate race in history."

• The *Washington Post* confirms that, "Remarkably, polls show some 70 percent to 80 percent of New Yorkers say they are following Mrs. Clinton's Senate race closely—compared with the typical 10 percent or so this far from election day."

• Nine months before the vote, all three major TV network news departments had already assigned staff to cover her campaign full-time. (This is historically unprecedented.) Even before she became an official candidate, stories about candidate Clinton on ABC, CBS, and NBC outnumbered coverage of any of the presidential contenders, according to the Center for Media and Public Affairs.

• Mrs. Clinton has already raised more than $12 million in individual contributions, the majority of it coming from beyond New York. This makes her easily the biggest political fundraiser in the country outside the presidential race.

• "Mrs. Clinton is the very embodiment of left-liberalism in America today.... If Mrs. Clinton does triumph...she will be the Leader of the Left in America, the conscience of the Democratic Party," suggests *National Review*.

• "New York could well be picking a future President," says the *Weekly Standard*.

• Amazon.com now sells more than 40 books about Hillary Clinton.

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In other words, Mrs. Clinton has become an important person in the politics of our nation. There is good reason to view her as a potential political sequoia, someone in the mold of Bobby Kennedy—who went rapidly from White House advisor to senator from New York to presidential candidate. And her career is at its turning point: Over the next few months, Hillary Clinton will either be planted for the long term or uprooted and deposited on the national compost pile.

OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS, HILLARY CLINTON WILL EITHER BE PLANTED FOR THE LONG TERM OR UPROOTED AND DEPOSITED ON THE NATIONAL COMPOST PILE.

If she is elected and does indeed become, as many expect she would, the most visible Democrat in the country, what kind of influence would Mrs. Clinton exercise on the nation?

She is trying very hard, at the moment, to convince observers she would be a mild and centrist "New Democrat" in the Senate. Judging how she'd actually behave is not easy. On the one hand, Mrs. Clinton is, like her husband, a true chameleon. Throughout her career, Gail Sheehy and other biographers make clear, the First Lady has quite consciously tried on different personas and changed positions to suit her political needs. Several times over the last decade she has transformed even her very name, beginning as Hillary Rodham, then becoming Hillary Rodham Clinton, then calling herself simply Hillary Clinton, and finally morphing, Madonna-like, to just "Hillary" in her Senate campaign literature. One is tempted to refer to her as The Artist Formerly Known as Princess.

The Good Scenario is that Mrs. Clinton has learned from her experiences and genuinely moderated her ideology, and will now act as a sensible statesman. Nothing to be ashamed of there—in a democracy, it's generally healthy for public figures to change their stripes after rebukes from the public. If the string of calamities stretching from her health care machinations through her "vast right-wing conspiracy" charge has chastened the First Lady into new attitudes, that's precisely what our system of political discipline is aimed at encouraging.

The Bad Scenario, of course, is that Mrs. Clinton is just toying with us in the fawning, poll-whipped, often duplicitous Clinton way. Is she just *playing* a moderate as the fastest path to stardom and power? There is no way of knowing for sure, but a close look at Mrs. Clinton's history is not reassuring. Careful study of her last 30 years of decisionmaking uncovers a long record of self-serving behavior, comparative radicalism, and dubious personal morality. It is very hard, in this light, to accept that Mrs. Clinton has lately turned into a moderate and principled New Democrat.

Take the straightforward question of how much of the Clinton administration's bumper crop of dishonesty and scandal should be attributed to Hillary. The disturbing fact is that Hillary's fingerprints have been even more prevalent than Bill's (sometimes literally) on many of this administration's most dubious acts: the Health Care Task Force end runs around government sunshine laws, the Travelgate vindictiveness, the gravely troubling FBI file snooping, the cattle futures miracle, the Castle Grande hustle and other Whitewater business, the missing billing records, the Chinese cash-drop in the White House, even the Monica cover-up (in their new book *Truth at Any Cost*, Susan Schmidt and Michael Weisskopf of the *Washington Post* report that it was Hillary who engineered the campaign to spread muck about Special Prosecutor Ken Starr).

Quite separately from her husband, Mrs. Clinton has shown a disturbing pattern of reflexive truth-stretching and reality-doctoring of exactly the type now known as "Clintonian." This shows up in little things—like saying she was named for famed mountain climber Sir Edmund Hillary, when actually he was unknown outside his native New Zealand until Hillary was six, the year he climbed Mount Everest.

While testing the waters for her Senate campaign, Mrs. Clinton boasted that she had been to the small upstate New York city of Elmira. When local officials said they couldn't recall that ever occurring, the White House was first silent, then stated she had driven by when she was a little girl, during a family trip from Chicago to Scranton.

Mrs. Clinton's political prevarications also show up in big things—like her claim not to have known her husband was about to pardon some Puerto Rican activists as she launched her campaign in New York City, and her denying knowing ex-bar-bouncer-turned-FBI-file-diver Craig Livingstone, even though his paper trail led to her and White House aides said they'd heard Mrs. Clinton addressing Livingstone by name in a friendly manner.

These kinds of fibs, half-truths, and lawyered claims create stomach-churning in citizens who have already lived through eight years of Clinton shadiness. Joyce Milton, who has produced the best biography of Mrs. Clinton (in addition to acclaimed biographies of the Lindberghs, Charlie Chaplin, and the Rosenbergs), writes that Hillary has exhibited a lifelong "habit of ignoring boundaries," and an enduring tendency to hold herself above laws she was only too happy to impose on others.

On numerous occasions, Hillary got into trouble for commandeering state employees and troopers to do personal work for her at the Rose Law firm, her home, or her parents' condo. While Governor Clinton was raising car tag fees in Arkansas, it became known that Hillary's own Fiat was unregistered. She railed against "1980s greed" while campaigning against George Bush, yet turned out to have made most of her money during that decade in a series of insider deals shady enough to make even the most Gekko-ish yuppie blush.

At the exact time she was collecting $100,000 on her sweetheart deal in cattle futures, Hillary was observed proclaiming at a party that commodities trading was "not socially acceptable, dealing in such large sums of money, such greed." The hypocrisy of this infuriated a trader at the company she had used, inspiring him to shout at her "Give the money back—I'll give it to a charity!" according to *The New Yorker*.

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When she speaks from the heart, Mrs. Clinton often lapses into a messianic style, sounding frighteningly presumptuous and dreamy, yet disingenuous at the same time. In 1993 in Austin, Texas, she famously lectured in the Royal We that "we lack at some core level meaning in our individual lives and meaning collectively.... We are, I think, in a crisis of meaning. What do our governmental institutions mean? What do our lives in today's world mean?...We need a new politics of meaning."

HILLARY HAS EXHIBITED A LIFELONG HABIT OF IGNORING BOUNDARIES, AND AN ENDURING TENDENCY TO HOLD HERSELF ABOVE LAWS SHE WAS ONLY TOO HAPPY TO IMPOSE ON OTHERS.

Oftentimes, Mrs. Clinton's statements are so banal and woolly you have to assume she's just trying to snow her audience, have it both ways, or hide her real beliefs in a fudge of fatty rhetoric. Take these three examples from recent New York campaign appearances:

• "Every time we pay tribute to art, particularly to art in a public place, we know it will cause a lot of thoughts to be thought and words to be spoken and ideas to be sparked."

• "All of us should be very vocal in our opposition to the use of the death penalty on a very broad basis and in a way that really undermines whatever effect it might have, as either retribution or deterrent, however one eventually uses it."

• "I think it's appropriate to take a few minutes to reflect on some of the issues that people of faith have in common. And from my perspective, as I have traveled extensively now through New York and been in the company of so many different New Yorkers from so many different walks of life, I agree that the challenges before us, as individuals, as members and leaders of the community of faith, as those who already hold positions of public responsibility and those who seek them, that we do all share and should be committed to an understanding of how we make progress, but we define that progress broadly, deeply, profoundly."

And furthermore, go Yankees!

As Leon Wieseltier observed several years ago in a brilliant essay in *The New Republic*, "Hillary Rodham Clinton does not seem to grasp the difference between the requirements for political authority and the requirements for moral authority.... The Clintonites act like crusaders, speak like the chosen" and believe "that anything they do, they do to improve the world."

This righteousness, Wieseltier adds, "is a little creepy. Mrs. Clinton's pronouncements on health care are a fine illustration.... She does not wish to teach how to pay, she wishes to teach how to live. Her war against bad health care is a war against bad habits; and bad habits are other people's habits." He concludes by warning against Mrs. Clinton's "totalizing ambitions" and her appetite for "social engineering."

On page 25 of this issue, Joyce Milton summarizes Mrs. Clinton's involvement in a heavy-handed proposal for a government takeover of public schooling and job markets. The First Lady cooked up this scheme with Ira Magaziner, the same left-wing string-puller who co-designed her Rube Goldberg health care plan.

In her book, Milton describes many other such proposals from Mrs. Clinton for exerting bureaucratic control over different parts of American society. For instance, her participation in a Carnegie Corporation project and other efforts that encouraged massive expansions of government into family life. Modeled on Soviet and French programs, these would have imposed a frightening degree of regimentation on American parents and children, and would have transferred many childrearing responsibilities from families to the government. Milton describes the Carnegie report as "must reading for anyone who seeks to understand Hillary Rodham's vision of the future of American families." One passage that Hillary particularly worked on calls for developing a new class of "public advocates" who will speak for children's interests on topics ranging from the environment to race relations:

> In a simpler world, parents were the only advocates for children. This is no longer true. In a complex society where invisible decision makers affect children's lives profoundly, both children and parents need canny advocates. What if all parents made relatively small financial contributions to such a cause? It would provide a politically insulated fund for lawyers, ombudsmen, agency monitors, and attempts at legislative reform.

In articles Hillary wrote while she was at the Rose Law Firm, she called for "children's rights advocates" to sue nuclear power companies, manufacturers of "junk food," automobile companies, television broadcasters, pharmaceutical firms, and others for extracting *illicit profits* from children. She proposed that children have a "right" to world peace, and suggested the United Nations enforce such a right on their behalf.

These are the ways Hillary's knees jerk. She came of age very much in the midst of the radical fringe. (For a fresh look at the appalling circles she travelled in during law school, see our lead SCAN item on pages 8-9.) And she stayed out there for as long as she was able to get away with it.

The years Mrs. Clinton served as chairman of the federal government's Legal Services Corporation under Jimmy Carter were the looniest in the history of that often-loony organization. Under her tenure, the organization sued New York City to overturn its policy against putting heroin addicts to work on subways. It sued to force schools to use racial quotas in handing out school suspensions. It sued to make states extend welfare benefits to alcoholics and drug addicts on the grounds that their addiction was a disability. It sued to require Medicaid to pay for a sex change operation on the grounds that the recipient was experiencing "frustration, depression, and anxiety." It handed out literature describing plant closings as an "exciting" opportunity for "rebuilding a broad-based American socialist movement." It broke federal rules by politicking against certain state referenda and against Ronald Reagan in national elections.

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Sidelights

Seven out of ten Italian men say if they don't eat pasta, they lose their appetite for making love, reports Rome's *Il Messagero.* ❦ Since 1995, complains the *Wall Street Journal*, general-fund spending by state governments has "soared" by 40 percent, eclipsing the federal government's growth of 18 percent. · · · Lehman Bros. predicts the feds' fiscal 2000 surplus will exceed congressional estimates by almost 20 percent. ❦ "The siege of that small bungalow in Miami joins Waco and the tangled campaign finance investigations as reputation-scorching travesties that undermine public confidence in this Justice Department," thunders *Washington Post* columnist **Jim Hoagland**, even though he thinks **Elián** should be reunited with his father. ❦ The Department of Education estimates there are now 15 million "latchkey" children, spending an average of 20 to 25 hours a week alone. · · · **Mark Thomas**, a 24-year-old teacher, tells the *Wall Street Journal* he's "settled on a vision of God that is 'mysterious, dark, rich, and gooey.'" He adds, "I've started to think of God more as a lover than as a father." ❦ Syndicated columnist **Michael Kelly** isn't proud of his protester past: "As an adolescent during the Vietnam War years, I came to admiringly see myself as passionately anti-war (although I couldn't have told you what the war was about). But even as I…tried to get myself a little bit tear-gassed and mildly arrested, I vaguely knew there was something awful in the presumption of we young white privileged things." ❦ The black-tie dinner that kicked off the Millennium March on Washington for gay rights was held at the **Ronald Reagan** building. · · · That weekend, the *Washington Post* favorably reviewed **Michael Warner**'s *The Trouble with Normal*, an assault on marriage for both hetero- and homosexuals. Warner complains that marriage "sanctifies some couples at the expense of others," and that without this snubbing, "marriage would not be able to endow anybody's life with significance." ❦ Environmentalists at the Environmental Working Group (EWG) studied tens of millions of federal agricultural subsidy payments and discovered that the aid has long been skewed toward the biggest and wealthiest ag operations, not the "family farm." EWG found that Congress's 1996 "reforms" only made matters worse, and the 1999 bail-out package "was even more inequitable."

Al Gore, *Slate*'s **Jacob Weisberg** predicts, will "rip into [**Bush**'s] flesh like a crazed weasel while grinning and promising never to make a 'negative personal attack' against an opponent." · · · The Vice President recently commented on CNN's "Late Edition": "I went through a change in my way of communicating with the American people last fall, when I made the decision that running for President and trying to communicate from the heart to the American people is more important than trying to be the best Vice President you can be to the *n*th degree." ❦ "Dude, want a job?" Desperate to recruit new employees, 50 major companies recently held career fairs on Florida beaches featuring twentysomething recruiters in "laid-back" attire. **Jenne Romero** of Quantum said of the potential employees, "O.K., so they're drunk, sunburned, and running around half-naked. This is spring break…not an average representation of what they're going to be like the rest of the year." · · · One out of every eight job hires in 1999 was recruited online, according to kforce.com. · · · KPMG International finds three out of four college seniors believe they'll become millionaires. ❦ The Center for Equal Opportunity's Web site has a calculator that gives a student the probability he would have been accepted into the University of Virginia last year. The curious may plug in their SAT scores, class rank, Virginia residency, parents' attendance at the school, and their race and ethnicity. An in-state student with a 1200 SAT score and ninety-third percentile class rank has a 99 percent chance of admission if black, 50 percent if white. ❦ *Orlando Sentinel* editor **Peter Brown** is studying thousands of journalists nationwide and uncovering "a very clear picture of people who live lives differently than their customers." · · · Journalists are less likely than the average citizen to marry, have children, attend church, volunteer in the community, or own homes. They are considerably more likely to earn over $50,000, support abortion, belong to country clubs, have maids, own Mercedes, and live in "urban gold coast" neighborhoods, the *Washington Times* reports. ❦ The Supreme Court "glumly drags *Roe v. Wade* around like a shred of toilet paper under its shoe," writes **Dahlia Lithwick**, reporting for *Slate* on the Supreme Court's oral arguments in a partial-birth abortion case. ❦ The Dallas Cowboys are now selling unconventional game memorabilia: Shoes **Troy Aikman** wore in a game ($1,999.99), **Emmitt Smith**'s practice pants ($799.99), practice jerseys with unknown sweat but a letter of authenticity ($99.99), and used socks ($19.99). —*SW*

"You can't be serious, exercise would completely destroy my way of life."

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SCAN

WILL THE REAL HILLARY PLEASE STAND UP?

Recently, Hillary Clinton took umbrage when New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani likened the paramilitary INS agents who snatched Elián González to "storm troopers." Referring to U.S. law enforcement officers in such terms is "extreme and unwarranted," Mrs. Clinton objected.

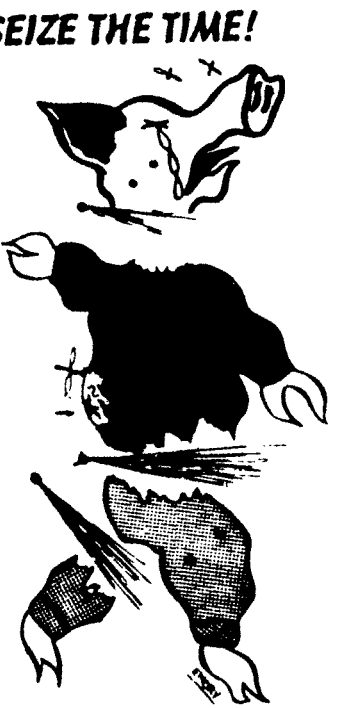
Certainly, gratuitous allusions to the Third Reich can be a problem in American politics. Just ask Mayor Giuliani and the congressional Republicans who have repeatedly been likened to Nazis in recent years by Democratic congressmen and others. Indeed, official delegates to the Democratic Party's New York State convention—which just nominated Mrs. Clinton for the Senate—harassed a police department honor guard in just such a way. According to the *Albany Times Union*, the offending delegates spat upon the flag-carrying cops and jeered at them as "Nazis" and "members of Giuliani's Third Reich."

So does the First Lady really want to start a debate about the vilification of police officers? If so, she's either got a lot of chutzpah or a mighty short memory, for the fact is, Hillary Rodham Clinton has collaborated with cop-bashers for some 30 years.

Back in her Yale law school days, Hillary was party to one especially venomous critique of the police. At that time, she served as associate editor of a student journal which depicted city policemen as racist pigs—literally—and even seemed to glorify cop-killing.

The *Yale Review of Law and Social Action* was the left-wing journal of that university's law school. Its debut issue, dated Spring 1970, lists Hillary Rodham as an editorial board member. She was no figurehead; Daniel Wattenberg, whose *American Spectator* piece first linked Hillary to the law journal, uncovered a *Review* source who recalls that Rodham, for instance, gave a detailed, sympathetic critique for an article entitled, "Jamestown 70."

A special double issue of the *Yale Review* during Hillary's editorial service focused on the legal travails of the Black Panthers. In 1970 and '71, several Panthers stood trial in New Haven for the torture-murder of fellow Panther Alex Rackley. On the same page as an unsigned article describing the police raid on the New Haven headquarters of the Black Panther Party following the murder, the *Review* ran a cartoon showing hairy pigs, snot dripping from their noses, marching with rifles in hand. As they oink and mutter "kill" aloud, the bubble above their heads has them thinking, "niggers, niggers, niggers."



The same issue has another pig-cop cartoon showing a horribly wounded pig-cop on crutches. He got what he deserved, explains the cartoon text. After all, a pig is "a foul depraved traducer." Yet further on comes a third drawing of a pig-cop, this one dismembered by gunfire. The headline above the decapitated head: "Seize the Time!"—the slogan of the Black Panthers.

What, if anything, did Mrs. Clinton know about these cartoons? Her silence about her earlier radical politics makes it impossible to know. But Hillary and her fellow *Yale Review* editors were undoubtedly career-minded activists, not the kind of hotheads reckless enough to lend their names to a magazine over which they had no control or knowledge. Besides Hillary, the editors included her friend Sol Stein, whom President Clinton named to the federal bench in 1995, and Greg Craig, the high-visibility attorney who saved President Clinton during impeachment and then saved Castro during the Elián González seizure. (Craig tells *The American Enterprise* the cartoons are abhorrent and denies any involvement.)

Today, Hillary keeps company with cop-basher *par excellence* Al Sharpton,

Left and above: Illustrations from the *Yale Review of Law and Social Action*, whose editors included Hillary Rodham.

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who seems to view just about any police officer in a minority neighborhood as a "white interloper" (his phrase). She issues responsible-sounding warnings against pre-judging cops, yet characterizes Amadou Diallo as having been "murdered" (a comment later described as a slip of her tongue). She is building her New York Senate campaign on odes to family values and law and order. So which is the real Hillary?

Her record—from campus radicalism in the late 1960s to tutelage of the New World Foundation in the late 1980s, when it played sugar daddy to the hard Left—renders Hillary Clinton's current incarnation as a pragmatic centrist highly dubious.

True, Mrs. Clinton is not the only one who did foolish things in the '60s, but her historical record bears re-examination because, as with so many of her other controversial endeavors, she has never come clean. Does she now have any regrets over her hard-Left past? In this particular case, exactly how involved was she?

Yes, people can and do change. But where's the *evidence* that Mrs. Clinton's newfound admiration for the police, and all of her other "middle of the road" positions, are anything but a cynical ploy to get elected? Genuine turnabouts in thinking usually begin with an acknowledgment of past mistakes.

In any case, suppose a prominent Republican was discovered to have been associate editor of a student law journal that published racist caricatures in a special issue. Suppose one caricature showed a black man being lynched. Would this be shrugged off as a youthful indiscretion? Would apologists say, "everyone did that back then"?

Since Mrs. Clinton is the one who registered the complaint about vilifying officers of the law, she ought to explain whether her own views have changed. Or has she just changed her stripes to match political realities—like Bobby Seale, the graying Black Panther who now explains, "I'm not going around saying, 'Off the pig.' You got to meet the climate of the times, man."

—**Evan Gahr** *is a contributing writer to* TAE.

BIAS BY THE NUMBERS

Eron Shosteck, media columnist at NationalJournal.com—no hotbed of conservatism—writes that journalists "will do nearly anything" to avoid writing about "whether the media are biased" in their political reporting. He decided to gather "the raw numbers" on the subject and let readers draw their own conclusions. Using the large Lexis-Nexis computer database, Shosteck checked how "loaded" words had been used in the major media during the previous 90 days. The results were stark.

"Partisan Republican" showed up 85 times, "partisan Democrat" only 58 times. Uses of "hard right" occurred 683 times, "hard left," 312. When Shosteck searched for "extreme right," the computer nearly exploded as the count topped 1,000. So he narrowed the search to the previous 30 days, which yielded 212 mentions of "extreme right" versus 58 of "extreme left."

Searching for journalistic uses of "far right" so overwhelmed the computer's capacity that even narrowing the time period from 90 days to 30 was fruitless. Shosteck had to limit it to a single week, and the computer coughed up 267 "far rights" to 130 "far lefts."

"Raw numbers, free of any manipulation, back up conservatives' claims" of bias, Shosteck concluded. But that was too much for CNN Interactive Technology Editor D. Ian Hopper, who complained to MediaNews, "The *National Journal* 'investigation' was a crock. In a Democratic administration, coming after an impeachment, of course we'd read quite a bit about the 'far right.' The 'left' is *winning*, so they don't need to be so vocal. I seriously doubt we'll see a similar check for time periods during the Reagan-Bush administration."

That made the Media Research Center laugh. They pointed out that their September 1991 *MediaWatch* documented the use of loaded terms—extreme, far, hard, etc.—in the *Washington Post* during 1990. "The numbers were 106 on the right, 24 on the left."

THANKS A LOT

"Although I have no 'loving wife' to thank for keeping the children away while I wrote, I do have many friends and teachers...."

—from Hillary Rodham's Acknowledgments in her senior thesis at Wellesley College

THE SPORTING LIFE

University of Houston football player Torrin Polk, on why he likes his coach: "He treats us like men. He lets us wear earrings."

SAFETY NUTS MAKE LIFE DANGEROUS

Outbreaks of *E. coli*, listeria, and other forms of food poisoning continue to be big news. In March, hot dog maker Sara Lee launched a voluntary recall of its franks, following on an earlier recall that cost the company $76 million.

There are an estimated 76 million cases of food poisoning in the U.S. annually, and total deaths from food-borne illnesses average 9,000 per year.

Many of those deaths could easily be avoided by the use of irradiation, a technology that is safe, readily available, and cheap. Irradiation of poultry has been approved since the early part of the decade, and any consumer product marked "sterile" has been irradiated, including bandages, tampons, and contact lens solution. But the use of irradiation on beef was only approved by the Food and Drug Administration in 1997, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture didn't follow suit until 1999.

Even though irradiation has been approved by the World Health Organization and the American Medical Association, and is in use in at least 40 other countries, many consumer activists agitate against its use. Opponents of irradiation are demanding labeling, and it is not clear whether they will accept anything less than a warning the size of a 16-ounce T-bone, complete with glow-in-the-dark skull and crossbones.

Ironically, many of the same groups that are obstructing the adoption of irradiation are ardent advocates of organic food production—which requires the use of manure, home to a whole host of pathogens like *E.coli*—in place of sterile commercial fertilizers. The public positions of consumer and environmental groups leave little doubt that they con-

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THE PERSONAL TOUCH

If you're looking for evidence that literacy, do-it-yourself independence, and sincerity are under pressure in some quarters, look no further than the line of software offered by ModelOffice. Yes, you can now buy a CD-ROM containing "2001 letters that work"—and in the process "unleash the power of the written word for every situation at work or at home." We're intensely curious if they offer any good timesavers in the categories of "Honey, I crashed the car," or "Here's why I deserve the promotion," or "Marry me."

sider the main threat to our food supply to be modern technology rather than the germs that have threatened humans since the dawn of time.

The commonest fear about irradiation is that it causes changes in food. Even the most vocal critics admit that irradiated food doesn't give off radiation, or turn your Weber grill into a potential terrorist weapon. Irradiation does cause the formation of some carcinogens, but so does your toaster, and at much higher levels. In fact, the carcinogens formed as a result of irradiation are already present in many foods, naturally occurring in higher concentrations than those caused by irradiation.

But science and expert opinion are held in low regard these days, as any number of public controversies about the use of modern science in the production of food have proven. As consumers have moved farther and farther from the farm, their spiritual attraction to small-scale, labor-intensive farming has increased, and food produced by nineteenth-century methods has all the attraction and trendiness of the latest shade-grown flavor at Starbucks. For consumers who can afford food produced by hand, locally, and without any technology more complex than a hoe, farmers will be glad to oblige—for a price. But when political groups demand that everyone buy food produced in the most expensive, and sometimes most dangerous way, they deny others access to the safest, most affordable foods the world has ever known.

When I was a boy growing up on a farm here in northwest Missouri, we used to raise our own chickens. We would pull their heads off with a stick, douse their carcasses in boiling water, pluck off the feathers, and deliver the chickens to my mother and grandmother, who gutted them and cut them into pieces for frying. Little did we know that we were producing free-range, organically grown poultry. Last summer, I toured a large, modern poultry-processing plant. After seeing firsthand both ways of processing poultry, my family now buys our chicken at the grocery store, and purchases irradiated poultry when available. The folks who glorify the old ways of doing things only do so because they haven't done those things themselves.

Beef irradiation will not eliminate the need for careful handling, clean facilities, or the preparation of meat in the correct manner. But if it saves some lives, keeps some folks from the misery of food poisoning, and allows me to eat a medium-rare hamburger, it will improve the existence of millions of consumers. Government agencies and consumer groups responsible for the hugely expensive (in lives and money), decades-long delay in the adoption of this technology have some explaining to do.

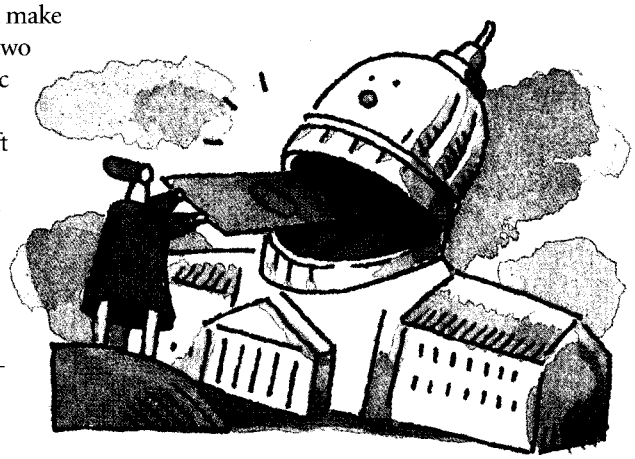
—**Blake Hurst**, *a* TAE *contributing writer, farms in Tarkio, Missouri.*

A PERSONAL VIEW ON CAMPAIGN SPENDING

The McCain presidential campaign put Republicans on the spot about campaign spending. Dissatisfaction with the current system is justified, but the McCain-Feingold reforms, in addition to disadvantaging Republicans, would make things worse. They consist of two proposals: (1) enhanced public financing of campaigns, and (2) further restrictions on "soft money" contributions, both those going to political parties and those for "issue advertising" by interest groups.

I bring to the issue the perspective of an unsuccessful candidate for the U.S. Senate. Trying to campaign in public was educational. First, I found free media coverage very hard to come by. Although I received a generous announcement story in the *Washington Post* three months before the election, and the editorial endorsements of the *Baltimore Sun* and *Frederick News-Post* six weeks before the election, newspaper coverage of our Maryland Republican Senate primary was otherwise nonexistent. The young reporter in the *Baltimore Sun*'s Washington bureau assigned to the campaign was an ardent admirer of incumbent Senator Barbara Mikulski (D) and gave her three full-page profiles, while writing only one humorously disparaging article, nearly two months before the election, about the Republican candidates. The *Washington Post* coverage was equally sparse, though somewhat more even-handed.

Second, funds for paid advertisements were also scarce, because the law only allows contributions of $1,000 or less per person—a trifling sum compared to what newspapers, radio, and TV charge for ads. Such low limits on contributions stifle any candidate not inordinately rich or possessed of a pre-existing organization. Worse, funds raised in $1,000 doses impose more obligations than would funds raised in larger doses from wealthy "angels," because any successful campaign by a non-millionaire must now rest in heavy measure on contributions assembled by organized interest groups. American politics were purer when the national Democrats raised their money from a few rich businessmen like Bernard Baruch and J.J. Raskob, while the national Republicans could count, as did Dewey in 1944, on a million dollars each (equal to $10 million today) from the Mellons and the Pews.



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These funds were less encumbering than the $1,000 contributions assembled by the savings and loan PACs of which Vice President Gore's campaign chairman, former Congressman Coelho, was once so enamored. Indeed, the "soft money" from the Republican Senatorial Campaign Commitee I might have received if I'd won the primary would have been less corrupting than money raised in $1,000 doses.

A qualified candidate even of humble background has a fair chance of finding a rich heir or entrepreneur willing to take a vicarious flyer in politics by contributing a potentially decisive $100,000 to his campaign—were this permitted. But the same candidate, starting from ground zero, will not easily raise that same amount in legally limited donations. (Britain's major parties derive their funds from a handful of millionaires. So long as the contributions are disclosed and the donors are not foreigners, there is nothing wrong with that.)

In addition, today's restrictions on campaign financing deliver candidates to the tender mercies of a highly concentrated mass media. For every candidacy killed by explicit editorial opposition, ten die from neglect in the news columns—neglect which also kills campaign contributions under the present system.

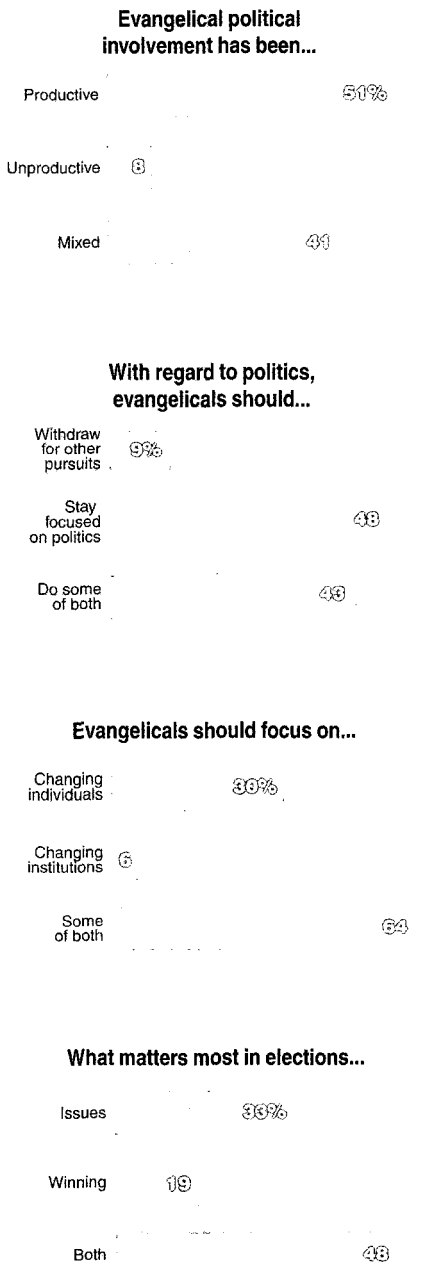
The media support the McCain-Feingold proposals because those proposals would deliver even more influence (and ad revenues) to the media. In the nineteenth century, when there were ten newspapers in each major city, private campaign spending—except on signs and rallies—was unnecessary and unknown. Those who want to restore that age of competitive politics should begin by avoiding measures that would further conglomerate media power.

There are some reasonable arguments for the British practice of government-subsidized campaign mailings or election speeches. But above all, those who want to improve our political process should seek to supplement private spending, not extinguish it. The McCain-Feingold "reforms," alas, would only deliver more power to the networks, the PACs, and the Federal Election Commission.

—Baltimore lawyer **George Liebmann** *is a* TAE *contributing writer.*

NO WITHDRAWAL

At the annual convention of the National Association of Evangelicals this spring, the Bliss Institute at the University of Akron presented results of a survey of evangelical leaders on the question of political involvement or disengagement. The findings summarized below indicate firm support among religious conservatives for continued pragmatic participation in the U.S. political process.



Source: Survey of 425 evangelical leaders by the Bliss Institute, University of Akron, February 2000.

PRIVILEGE WITHOUT RESPONSIBILITY?

The Los Angeles-based Parents' Television Council (PTC) recently reported results of their study of changes in TV content from 1989 to 1999. On a per-hour basis, sexual material was three times commoner in 1999 than in 1989. Foul language increased six-fold. Depictions of violence decreased slightly.

Qualitatively, all three of these types of references worsened. "Violence, although it has somewhat leveled off, was more grizzly, graphic, a lot more bloody," said PTC president Mark Honig. The sexual references were likewise much more explicit.

"Broadcasters are privileged with free use of the public airwaves, but with that privilege has historically come a responsibility to serve the public interest," suggested Honig.

HOW ONE WOMAN GOT HER GUN

Like many other Million-something events, the Million Mom March against guns served up more rhetoric than reality. For this mom, it was a reminder of my own progress in discarding the notion that guns are The Problem.

It began when my husband, Tripp, decided to join the National Rifle Association (NRA). "What for?" I demanded. We didn't own any guns. In fact, both of us have solid pacifist roots. For years I'd even avoided killing the occasional household spider.

But Tripp's logic was compelling: Just as we struggled to protect constitutional rights when we were leftists, we needed to do all we could now to safeguard the Second Amendment. Besides, he added, having a gun for protection might not be a bad idea.

"No way," said I. I'd already made my Big Concession ten years ago when I lifted my domestic toy gun ban. That was strictly a strategic move: My four weapons-deficient sons had become so gun-obsessed that they found every scraggly branch or sausage link capable of rapid fire. At toy stores, after loading up with things nonviolent, I'd have to drag them drooling from the artillery aisle. So I abandoned my repressive rule for fear it would backfire.

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WHO ME?

Million Mom March organizer Donna Dees-Thomases encouraged the media to paint her as a political neophyte by deprecating herself as ignorant ("at first, I didn't know the Brady Bill from 'The Brady Bunch'") and helpless ("I couldn't organize a class picnic").

The press lapped this up. The Media Research Center reports that NBC's Tom Brokaw, for example, began his profile of Dees-Thomases, "Women to Watch: tonight a mother who'd never been politically active" until she saw footage of a 1999 shooting.

In fact, Dees-Thomases' claims were dishonest. She has been heavily involved in politics for decades:

- She maxed out as a donor to the Hillary for Senate campaign
- She served as a spokesman for CBS News from 1987 to 1993—the time when Sarah Brady's gun control bills were being voted on in Congress—with responsibilities for the Washington bureau and "Campaign '88"
- She worked on Capitol Hill from 1979 to 1983 in the press offices of two Senators
- She is sister-in-law to Susan Thomases, one of Hillary Clinton's closest friends

When it came to having a real gun in our home, though, I stood my ground. And so for a while my hubby and sons proudly wore their NRA caps, though we may have been the only NRA members who didn't own a gun.

Gradually, however, I started to worry. The federal government's appetite for control over our lives seemed to be burgeoning—a lawsuit here, a land grab there, federal interference everywhere. Then there was the one-note response of the Clinton administration following each and every shooting tragedy: "Let Us Take Care of The Problem."

The last straw was when California required certain weapons to be registered, then followed up by confiscating the registered guns from their law-abiding owners, ensuring that now only criminals would have them. I knew it was time to allow, no, urge my man to get his gun.

And so just recently I have for the first time seen a gun up close and personal, watched my men leave for target practice, experienced the security of knowing our home is protected when we go to sleep, and finally, in the culmination of a process that likely never would have begun had I not been more afraid of losing my constitutional rights than of exercising them, I learned to ready, aim, and fire.

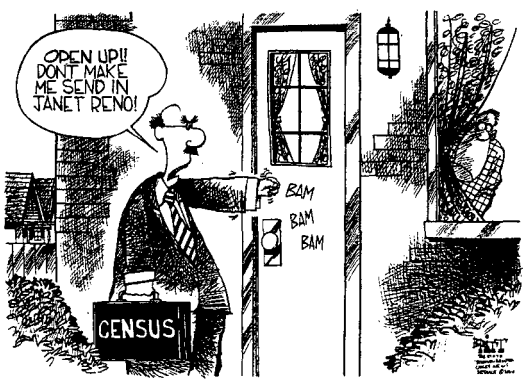
But perhaps I'm not all that unusual. In just the past year and a half, NRA membership has increased by 30 percent, soaring from 2.7 to 3.8 million despite almost unbelievably biased media coverage of the 129-year-old nonpartisan group.

Brian A. Patrick, a University of Michigan Ph.D., has documented that bias. In a 1990-98 survey of the "elite" press (*New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Christian Science Monitor*), Patrick found that 87 percent of editorials and op-eds on the NRA were negative, compared to 52 percent for the NAACP, ACLU, AARP, and Handgun Control, Inc. He also found journalists systematically belittled the NRA by running satirical headlines, discounting NRA leadership, ignoring NRA events, and choosing loaded words ("lobby" vs. "advocacy group," "claims" vs. "says").

Patrick concluded that rather than harming the NRA, this media bias actually benefits the group by energizing its membership. Perhaps the media would be surprised to learn that it's not just rubes in flyover country who are reacting to their clumsy attempts at thought control, but educated, sophisticated, and formerly self-identified liberals like me.

Some of us just can't give up the old wisdom—"Question Authority." We do well to be wary, to look beyond feelings and slogans. A government that already has 20,000 gun laws on the books, neglects their enforcement, then clamors for MORE! clearly has an agenda beyond simply saving lives.

—**Barbara Curtis** *is a writer in Petaluma, California.*



THREATENING INVESTMENTS

Ida Mae Fuller put in $22 and got back $20,000. That wasn't a lucky hit on one of Trump's slot machines; Ida was America's first recipient of a Social Security check. It was a great deal, too, for most Americans who retired from the 1940s to the 1970s—with the difference between Social Security taxes paid and Social Security benefits received running at the equivalent of a 30 to 40 percent annual return, *after* inflation.

Today, it's a different story. If they're lucky, the rate of return for today's young workers will be in the 1 to 2 percent range—a lower rate of return than a very conservative investment like government bonds, and a poor payback compared to what can be earned in an ordinary mutual fund. "If a worker younger than 30 with an average income were permitted to invest his payroll taxes in a safe, diversified mutual fund account, and that account earned 6 percent per year, which is below the historical average, he would have more than $1 million in a retirement nest egg at the age of 65," says Stephen Moore, president of the Club for Growth. "That nest egg would pay a monthly annuity payment not two, not three, but *four* times higher than the benefit promised from Social Security."

And *promised* is a key word in Moore's analysis. Nothing is guaranteed under the current system. The Supreme Court made it clear in *Helvering v. Davis* (1937) and *Flemming v. Nestor* (1960) that none of us have a legal right to one penny from Social

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Security. In the 1960 case, Ephram Nestor paid into the system for 19 years before being deported as an undesirable alien. His claim that he had "property rights" to benefits was rejected by the Court. Justice Harlan wrote, "To engraft the Social Security system with a concept of 'accrued property rights' would deprive it of the flexibility and boldness in adjustment to ever changing conditions which it demands."

Politicians, in other words, can't be deprived of the "flexibility" to cut benefits, jack up the retirement age whenever "conditions" change, or use means-testing to totally eliminate benefits for workers who've been successful in building up their own nest egg outside the system. Unlike a true pension, Congress can change the rules of the game any time, or even shut the game down entirely.

And the rules are sure to change, because we're sitting on a demographic time bomb. In 1950, the ratio of workers to retirees was 20 to 1. That ratio has now dropped to 3 to 1. When today's 35-year-old worker is scheduled to receive his first Social Security check, it will be 2 to 1. In a pay-as-you-go system, that means too few workers will support too many retirees.

To reduce future drains on the system and permit retirees better returns, Texas Governor George W. Bush is proposing workers be given the option of investing 2 percentage points of their 12.4 percent payroll tax in private retirement accounts. In the Senate, two key Democrats, Bob Kerrey of Nebraska and Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, have introduced a bill that mirrors the Bush proposal. Polls show 80 percent support for this partial privatization of Social Security, including approval from the majority of Democrats and 90 percent of adults under 35.

"We want invested savings to gradually replace the government obligations," says John Goodman, an economic advisor to Bush, who explains that workers would have the option of staying in the existing program or choosing from a range of federally approved mutual funds that invest in blue chip stocks and bonds." The risk? Probably less than giving the politicians the "flexibility" to play around with the current system. Since 1926, for instance, the stocks making up the S&P 500 have returned 7.9 percent per year on average, after inflation, and that includes the decade of the Great Depression.

Al Gore's response? He demagogues the proposal as "survival of the fittest," a "risky" plan of "stock market roulette" that's "bad for families," even though a half-million dollars of *his* family's money is invested in stock. Perhaps what Gore sees as too "risky" is too many people making too much money—a growing investor class that's too independent of government. That's a scary thought for a statist.

—**Ralph Reiland** *is a* TAE *contributing writer*

PUTTING YOUR MONEY WHERE YOUR MOUTH IS?

The Tax Foundation recently reported that Governor George W. Bush, the heartless Republican in this year's presidential race, donated $335,706 to charity in the latest tax year available.

His kinder and gentler opponent Vice President Al Gore, meanwhile, gave only $353 to charity in one recent year, or less than 0.2 percent of his income.

Copley News Service/Britt

POLICING THE DECOR

Boston bar owner Tom English puts up displays in his establishment every month—frogs in April because of the rain, fish over the summer, elephants and donkeys in November. In February he decorated his bar with stuffed monkeys and statues of primitive tribesmen holding spears. He says he was only trying to bring a little tropical feeling to a dreary February, but when a *Boston Herald* reporter asked what the monkey stood for, an unnamed bartender replied, "black history month."

The story caused a furor. "That's tantamount to a hate crime to me," Massachusetts Committee Against Discrimination Commissioner Charles Walker argued. One columnist compared English's decorations to people throwing bricks at black kids.

English took the display down immediately after the *Herald*'s story and apologized to anyone who had taken offense. The Boston Licensing Board investigated but found no evidence for the allegations and dismissed the case. But that wasn't the end of it. The Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination also investigated; it fined English $4,000 and recommended he make another public apology.

"I was horrified to see that there was even an *investigation*," Boston civil liberties lawyer Harvey Silverglate tells *TAE*. Whether the decorations were a rude and uncivil attempt to make fun of Black History Month or not is beside the point, Silverglate argues. "The city of Boston surely should not and does not have the power to condition a license on the political acceptability of the bar's expressive conduct."

In other words, Tom English has First Amendment rights, and as long as he is not refusing to serve customers on the basis of race, he is within those rights. Of course, others disagree. Darnell Williams, president of the New England chapter of the NAACP, says, "Any time you make gestures against any race or ethnicity, it is contrary to our Constitution."

In a similar case in the 1980s, Boston wanted to shut down Sambo's restaurant chain because it offended some blacks who were reminded of the children's book *Little Black Sambo*. (The restaurant's name was actually drawn from a combination of the names of the owners—Sam Battenstone and F. Newell Bohnett.) Officials tried to use the public accommodations law to close the restaurant, but failed. In the end, the chain went bankrupt. As Silverglate explains, "either the food was bad or enough people didn't like the name. That's the way a free country works."

—**Naomi Schaefer** *is an assistant editor at* Commentary

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"Live" with TAE

ONE OF AMERICA'S MOST GIFTED POLITICAL WRITERS—WHO CUT HER TEETH PENNING SPEECHES FOR RONALD REAGAN AND DAN RATHER—HAS A BOOK ABOUT HILLARY CLINTON, HER WOULD-BE SENATOR.

Peggy Noonan

As a presidential speechwriter, Peggy Noonan helped craft some of Ronald Reagan's most memorable lines. Prior to arriving at the White House she was writing radio commentaries for CBS anchorman Dan Rather.

Now 50, Noonan makes political observations under her own name. Her 1990 book about her years in Washington, What I Saw at the Revolution, *was a spirited defense of the Reagan era.* Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness, *published in 1994, is in large part about her journey of faith and what being an American means to her. Her latest bestseller,* The Case Against Hillary Clinton, *is Noonan's contribution to Mrs. Clinton's New York "listening tour": The Irish Catholic Brooklynite, daughter of a merchant seaman, tells Mrs. Clinton that she is all wrong for the Empire State.*

Peggy Noonan was interviewed in New York by TAE *associate editor John Meroney.*

Illustration by Lucinda S. Levine

TAE: What was the origin of this book on Mrs. Clinton?

NOONAN: I found myself thinking over and over again about Hillary—her possible candidacy, and the fact that my friends said she won't run. I thought, of course she's going to run. It made perfect sense. This was the first piece I've ever written that aroused such huge passion that I was stopped on the street by people who disagreed with me.

TAE: Several years ago you were writing a book about the GOP takeover of Congress in 1994. That must have faded when the Republicans faded.

NOONAN: It did. I'm not Bob Woodward, and I don't do investigative reporting. What I do is go to places and see what's happening. The story in Washington seemed to be shifting so much, and in time became such a puzzlement to me that I thought, "Put this aside."

TAE: Do you have any idea what Mrs. Clinton thinks about other First Ladies, especially the recent ones?

NOONAN: I can only tell you that she is obviously obsessed with Eleanor Roosevelt and mildly obsessed with Jacqueline Onassis. But Hillary only wishes that she had Eleanor Roosevelt's seriousness and Jackie Onassis's class.

TAE: Do you have any sense of what the First Ladies think of Mrs. Clinton, especially as they watch this drama of her campaign unfold?

NOONAN: They must sit back, smile, and think, "Brass."

TAE: You write about New York Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan with affection. Many other conservatives also seem to have a high regard for him. But he voted to acquit President Clinton in the impeachment trial, and he's endorsed the woman you oppose so much you've written a book against her. Will you explain that incongruity?

NOONAN: It doesn't strike me as an incongruity. Pat Moynihan has been our Senator in New York for a quarter-century, and in that time he has shown himself to be a man of seriousness and sincerity, especially for a politician. He's a man who's made serious contributions going back to the '60s, when he alone in the Democratic Party was warning that welfare policy in America would have a drastic effect on minorities. It took guts to say that, and he was punished for it. But twenty years later we knew he was right. Pat Moynihan is a man serious enough to write "Defining Deviancy Down," capturing ways our culture changed because of governmental malfeasance.

TAE: But he's a liberal who voted to acquit a man you've said isn't wise enough, mature enough, stable enough to be President.

NOONAN: Look, Senator Moynihan had the courage to admit that partial-birth abortion is infanticide. That took more guts for a New York liberal Democrat than any vote on Bill Clinton's impeachment. So that's why I like and admire him. He's also someone who respects and both-

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ers to know history—these things are good.
TAE: And he endorsed Hillary Clinton to succeed him.
NOONAN: (laughs) Believe me, Pat Moynihan has no illusions about Hillary Clinton. He has no affection for Hillary Clinton. And he has no respect for Hillary Clinton.

He's a practical man. And like a loyal Democrat, he lined up behind her and stood on the rolling lawn of his upstate New York farm and laughed wryly as he presented her to an eager press corps.
TAE: You write about that scene as though he was winking to us.
NOONAN: Yep, there was plenty of wink going on there. He will do what a loyal Democrat has to do.
TAE: You say that the Clintons don't have loyalty to any particular political philosophy, but their impulses tend to be left-of-center. You describe this as command and control liberalism: operating behind-the-scenes, not by airing issues but by manipulating them. So what happens to liberalism and the Democratic Party once Bill Clinton's presidency has ended, if Mrs. Clinton also loses the Senate race?
NOONAN: What happens to liberalism if Hillary Clinton loses? That's like, What happens to crime in America if we put O.J. in jail? (laughs) Crime in America will continue, don't worry. Liberalism is a great old American political philosophy. It has a future that is probably enhanced by the absence of a tainted carrier named Mrs. Clinton.

The Clintons have changed the Democratic Party by forcing it to lower itself and accept and defend actions that Democrats in the past haven't accepted and defended, all in order to keep a Democratic President and First Lady in power. So I think the party will be in better shape after the Clintons leave. It may recover some of its class.
TAE: What is the worst thing that the President and his wife have done to the country?
NOONAN: There are two very serious things that they've done. First, they've made our political discourse and debate, and our culture and national conversation, cruder.

The second dreadful thing they've done is to fail to protect their country from nuclear missile and terrorist attack. This has been the perfect eight years—a time of wild prosperity and relative peace—to move forward on American defense issues. They haven't done it. They've left us vulnerable to the mischief of the world, and we'll pay the price for their refusal to defend their country. I find it chilling.

> Believe me, Pat Moynihan has no illusions about Hillary Clinton. He has no affection for Hillary Clinton. And he has no respect for Hillary Clinton.

I had a chilling talk with a high-level Democratic Party friend of the Clintons last summer. He nodded his head and said, "Everybody in Washington knows that we face terrible threats that could kill hundreds of thousands and millions, and it could happen tomorrow." I said, "Why won't Clinton move forward on it?" He answered, "Because Bill Clinton is just a reactive politician. The problem you're describing hasn't shown up in the polls yet. If it did, then he'd do something about it."

I thought, wow, what a statement. Morally vacuous and irresponsible people have left our nation vulnerable because it didn't show up in the polls. Aren't leaders supposed to look to the future and help us get through those tough times ahead?
TAE: There's an anecdote in your book about running into a Secret Service agent acquaintance at the 1996 Democratic National Convention, which you were covering for *Time*. You write, "I asked him how things were going. He stood there, and looked me in the eyes, and barely, just perceptibly, shook his head back and forth. As if he didn't have words; as if the words he had should not be spoken. We said nothing for three or five seconds. And then I said, 'It's bad, isn't it?' 'You have no idea,' he said softly. 'You wouldn't believe.'"

What do you think he was talking about?
NOONAN: I didn't press him because I knew he didn't want to be pressed. But even though we're not old friends, we both understood what was being said.
TAE: He wasn't just talking about politics.
NOONAN: No, no. Secret Servicemen are funny. Of course they have political views; they're human beings. But political views are never the headline for them. The actions of the people they protect, however, in time break through and give them an impression. And what his eyes were saying was, These are bad people.
TAE: Have you ever met the Clintons?
NOONAN: Sure, a number of times.
TAE: What have those exchanges been like?
NOONAN: Pleasant, interesting, and revealing.
TAE: What do you talk about when you're around Mrs. Clinton?
NOONAN: The last time I saw her up close was about two years ago when we both spoke at the funeral of a mutual friend.

When I first met Mrs. Clinton, she did with me what she does with everyone: She meets you the first time very, very well, and you get a good impression of her.
TAE: And the President?

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NOONAN: Well, the first time I saw Mr. Clinton was just after he was elected but before he became President. He was giving a speech in a room of about 300 people, mostly Democrats, and it was a most impressive performance. It was an interesting speech wherein he lambasted Presidents Reagan and Bush. I found this very interesting. I was supposed to speak after him and wasn't planning to give a partisan talk, but he was beating up people I respected so I decided to beat back a little bit and defend them.

When I was done, everybody applauded, and I went to sit down on the dais. Bill Clinton turned to me and said, "Gee, that was nice—but you didn't have to be so partisan." And I thought, Oh, a sneaky and manipulative man. This presidency is going to be interesting.

TAE: You say that our culture is the great environmental issue of our time. In 1992, Pat Buchanan said that there was a cultural war going on in the country and that it was really a war for the soul of America, but he was roundly criticized. Now you seem to agree.

NOONAN: Look, I never see our cultural problems as a war. I see our culture as something that has been evolving and not in all ways beneficially.

I do think it's the great environmental issue of our time because it's the water our children swim in, and they're covered by it, top to toe. There's TV, radio, CDs, movies, the bus that goes by with the big Calvin Klein underwear ad. Our culture is saturated with images of sex, while at the same time it's less sexy than the old America. It's violence-obsessed. And it's essentially not a constructive but a destructive culture.

So, is it a problem? Yes. Should we all pay attention to it? Yes. Couldn't Mrs. Clinton make great strides in this area by going to her friends in Hollywood, speaking to them frankly, and applying pressure to them? Of course. Will she? No.

TAE: Why not?

NOONAN: Because she's not interested in protecting our children. She's interested in getting money from Hollywood to gain power for herself. Period. It's disappointing and is yet another example of her shameful coldness toward and lack of concern for the children of our country.

TAE: Tom Wolfe suggested in 1996 that culture was the real political issue, yet Republicans never got the message. The one speech Bob Dole gave during that campaign season which really resonated was about Hollywood and its excessive sex and violence. Why didn't Republicans capitalize on it?

NOONAN: Do you think the Hollywood people care if Bob Dole, Republican, stands there and says, Hey, you've got to think more seriously about our society and try to make a more constructive contribution to it? Of course not. Mrs. Clinton is one of the only ones who could effectively do that: She lives in their homes, they're her best friends, they bankroll her, and she's their ticket to power. If she got serious with them, they would actually have to change.

> I think cultural rot is the great environmental issue of our time because it's the water our children swim in.

And Dole never seemed to have true passion about it. He seemed to think it was an issue to be addressed, as opposed to a problem he genuinely felt strongly about.

TAE: Many have claimed few politicians can survive the gauntlet of the New York press corps, and Mrs. Clinton will have a tough time with them. But she's handled the Washington press corps for eight years. Aren't New York media types just a little heady about how tough they are?

NOONAN: I've been going through newsrooms in New York doing interviews for this book, talking to many local news producers, reporters, soundmen, cameramen, secretaries, and anchorwomen. And I've got to tell you, they've had it up to here with Mrs. Clinton. The more they see, the more they're put off. And I think in time their judgments of her may filter through their work.

TAE: Senator Jesse Helms ran almost all of his campaigns without ever holding press conferences. They were campaigns of TV ads and a few appearances, and he's never lost an election. Will that same style get a seat for Mrs. Clinton in the Senate?

NOONAN: We'll see. Remember the questions that the upstate New York radio shock jock asked of Mrs. Clinton—the rather personal ones that I think were rude? Why was that reported all over America? Because for once a reporter got to her.

TAE: Do you believe Bill Clinton raped Juanita Broaddrick?

NOONAN: I have no reason not to believe Mrs. Broaddrick. She was a Democratic Party Clinton supporter who describes in a completely credible manner, with great pain, what happened to her one day when the Attorney General of Arkansas got her in a room and raped her. She had no gain out of this, and nothing good has happened in her life since she admitted what happened. She tried to keep it quiet for years. She's not an ideological foe of the Clintons.

TAE: Do you think Hillary Clinton believes Juanita Broaddrick?

NOONAN: Well, I don't think Mrs. Clinton is unaware of who her husband is.

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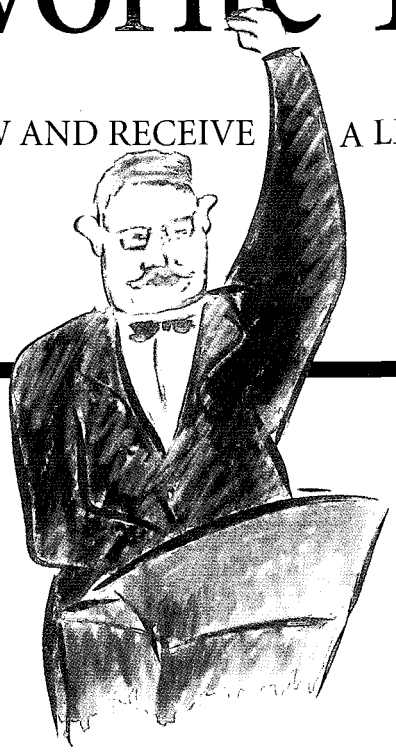

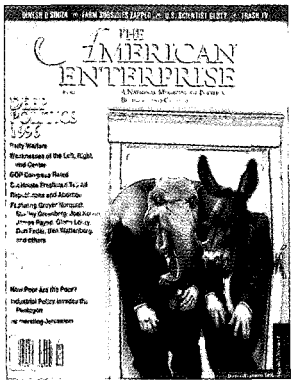

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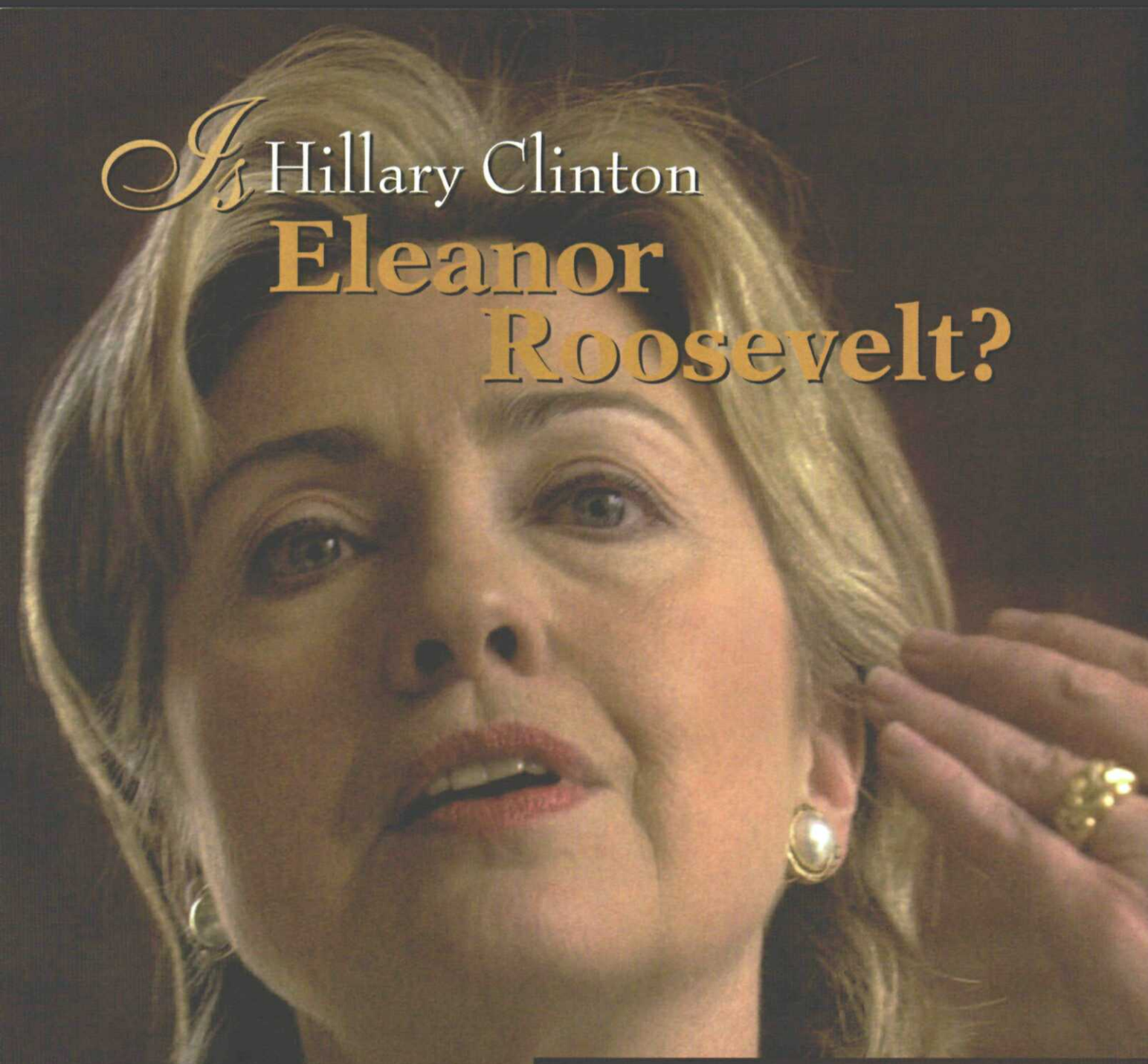

Is Hillary Clinton Eleanor Roosevelt?

By Christopher Hitchens

I attended Oxford with Bill Clinton (at one point sharing a girlfriend in common—she later became a radical lesbian), so I have a deep-rooted understanding of both the President and the President's wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton. And I regard both of them as partly a consummation of the 1960s, and partly a negation of their era.

Mrs. Clinton's call in *It Takes a Village* for sexual abstinence among teenagers, for instance, may be the furthest she's gone from what would have been predicted. It's probably her most ironic advice. But there have been many other similarly unexpected pronouncements that I wouldn't have expected to hear from a spokeswoman for her particular slice of her narcissistic generation.

Steadfastly building a double personality, Mrs. Clinton has alternately presented herself in two very distinct lights. First, as a deadly

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tough and strong woman, assertive, and out on her own. Second, in the mode of the simpering female, quick to take offense, easily resorting to self-pity, claiming to be vulnerable. In short, she presents herself as either the Amazon or the weak sob-sister.

Let me give you an example. When asked how it was she couldn't remember any of the facts about her infamous cattle futures trading, Mrs. Clinton replied, batting her eyelashes, that, Well, she was pregnant with Chelsea at the time and in such a hormonal state that it was very hard to keep track of such mannish matters.

That's the simpering bit, in case you were wondering.

But she was tough enough to hire private detectives to go after dangerous opponents, tough enough to be a very ruthless overseer of many political campaigns, tough enough to recall Dick Morris to the colors not once but twice when hubby was in trouble.

Which of Mrs. Clinton's dual personalities—simpering feminine versus tough, cool, plugged-in professional—will root in the public mind?

By the same token, Mrs. Clinton once argued (because she'll try anything once) that the source of the vile rumors directed against her husband was a rooted prejudice, among the intellectual and political classes, against southerners and people from Arkansas.

Those are only a few of the ways in which this woman who is constantly reinventing herself (currently carpetbagging from D.C. to New York, and I have a feeling back to D.C. again) can deploy herself—always in such a manner as to suggest that nothing can be her own fault, but always someone else's.

And the reality is, the First Lady has had great success, particularly among some intellectuals, in recruiting sympathy to herself. This raises the question of whether she will ever accept the responsibilities that go with her obvious power and influence. This question applies with particular force in a White House that has gone to some length to replace the concept of accountability with the concept of *deniability*.

In a famous speech, British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin said that what his opponents wanted was power without responsibility, adding that this was the prerogative of the harlot throughout the ages. It might be incautious to mention the prerogative of the harlot in the same breath as the First Lady or her husband, but the issue of power without responsibility is what most underlies the contrast between Mrs. Clinton and those who preceded her to similar heights of power.

One exemplar whom Mrs. Clinton has cited as a role model is Eleanor Roosevelt. The First Lady's famous attempt to communicate with Eleanor Roosevelt via "channeling" from the White House strikes me as grotesquely suggestive of the differences between these two women.

We know from her friend Gore Vidal that Mrs. Roosevelt herself was extremely contemptuous of absurd processes like channeling which attempt to ventriloquize or otherwise seek access to burblings from the beyond. We have Mrs. Roosevelt on the record about this, in fact. When the Queen of the Netherlands tried to interest Eleanor in spiritualism, she was met with a withering riposte: "Since we're going to be dead such a long time anyway, it's rather a waste of time chatting with all of them before we get there." Somehow this didn't stop Mrs. Clinton from hiring an enabler to try to get in touch with Mrs. Roosevelt.

There are many other differences, of course. Mrs. Roosevelt did not run as a buy-one-get-one-free spouse. (And I must say, I don't know if there has ever been such a vulgar phrase as that, deployed with so little protest, in presidential politics.) Nor did Mrs. Roosevelt try to have it both ways in portraying herself as both an intimidator and a victim. She accepted the limitations of her own unelected role, and concentrated instead on seeking to expand the President's conception of his role.

That's the precise reverse of the state of affairs under Mrs. Clinton. Hillary Clinton has chafed endlessly and self-pityingly at the bonds imposed on her by her unelected status, while always reinforcing the narrowness and cheapness of her husband's conception of his job. She has also actively reinforced the President's opportunitism and cynicism, while publicly justifying everything he does—a course that Mrs. Roosevelt, I think, would have recoiled from twice.

Mrs. Clinton has also sought to publicly justify her husband's brutish infidelities and the free exercise of his yobbish libido, another thing that Mrs. Roosevelt, who suffered greatly in public and in private from her husband's infidelities, would have died rather than trying to do. She would have died from shame alone.

Mrs. Roosevelt tried to convince her husband, the President, to take an interest in the survival of Republican Spain, in the abolition of Jim Crow, in the right of Marian Anderson to sing in Constitution Hall. These and other causes were not popular with the public, with the Congress (always the apple of Franklin Roosevelt's eye), or with wealthy backers.

Mrs. Roosevelt was simply introducing principle into politics, always trying to get her husband to do the unpopular or uncommercial thing. Whatever one thinks about Jim Crow or Republican Spain or desegregation of the Armed Forces, these were positions that required courage, and required her urging courage and principle on her husband. I think I don't need to underline that contrast any further.

As I've noted, it was Mrs. Clinton who rehired Dick Morris, and elevated him to the White House. It was she who had her own chief of staff, Maggie Williams, accept a $50,000 check in the White House from a Chinese influence peddler. This man, when deposed on the matter, said, "Well, the White House is a bit like the New York subway. You have to put the tokens in

Christopher Hitchens, a columnist for Vanity Fair *and* The Nation *and a frequent contributor to* The American Enterprise, *is the author of* No One Left to Lie To: The Triangulations of William Jefferson Clinton.

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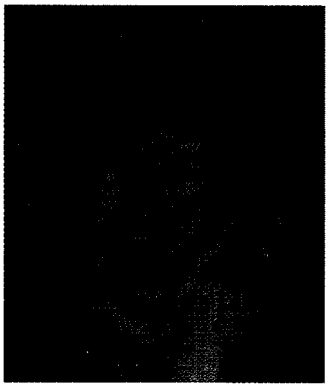

before you're allowed access." Though English isn't his first language, it's to that gentleman that we owe probably the best working definition of this First Family and the White House it has run—where the Lincoln Bedroom is a motel for fat cats, the Oval Office is a massage parlor, and Arlington Cemetery a repository for people who are buried falsely under full donor honors and confected military records.

Hillary and Bill Clinton have presided, in other words, over a full-blast profaning of all the secular temples of the American Republic. This has been done more or less without protest from the First Lady, and often with her aggressive encouragement, because a strong woman has her needs after all.

Had Mrs. Roosevelt run for the Senate from her home in Hyde Park, New York, I do not believe she would have used, as if they were no more than her just due, all the appurtenances of high office for campaign purposes. Every time Mrs. Clinton goes to New York, it costs the taxpayers a fortune in the use of government aircraft, security protection, cars, and so on, to say nothing of the expense of shutting down traffic and workplaces wherever her imperial guard takes her. And if Mrs. Roosevelt had become a candidate, is it even conceivable that she could have been asked any of the following questions (none of which our so-called adversarial press has yet gotten around to asking Mrs. Clinton)?

• First question: Did you, Mrs. Clinton, approach my colleague at *Vanity Fair*, Gail Sheehy, during the Gennifer Flowers affair in the 1992 election and suggest George Bush had a mistress? What did you mean when you said, quote, "I hear he has a Gennifer, too." The "too" is especially interesting considering that Mrs. Clinton publicly denied her husband had had a Gennifer at all.

Since the woman Mrs. Clinton was fingering spelled her name Jennifer, I suppose if she were pressed on it now the First Lady would say, "Well, it depends what you mean by 'Gennifer.'" There is, the Clintons have taught us, a lot of wiggle room in one consonant. But, really, why and how was her suggestion pardonable, and how does she explain it? This question goes very strongly to the way the entire 1992 campaign was managed.

• Second question: How have you tolerated the use of your daughter in photo opportunities with the President only on days when he has lied to Congress and his Cabinet and the American people, while insisting all the time that any questions to yourself or criticisms of your family are out of bounds because they are violations of your daughter's privacy?

And while we're on the subject of privacy, why do you argue the Privacy Act covers inquiries about overnight guests in the Lincoln Bedroom? The first, second, and third line of defense when the Center for Public Integrity asked questions about those overnights was, "We're not telling you who sleeps in the Lincoln Bedroom because that would be a private question; the First Lady and her daughter often have people to sleep over; that's none of your business." So again Chelsea and your position as wife were used politically and manipulatively to head off an inquiry, this time into the use of the Lincoln Bedroom as a hot-sheet motel.

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Yet somehow the Privacy Act does *not* apply to Kathleen Willey's private correspondence. When you as First Lady talked to Sidney Blumenthal about whether it should be released, the only question was where and how quickly.

• A follow-up question: Mrs. Clinton, how can you have taken such a deep and rapid interest in the private letters of Kathleen Willey—discovered, by the way, after a long stretch of being "unobtainable," even though they were requested under subpoena by Paula Jones' lawyers—yet have failed (by your own report) to watch the televised testimony of Juanita Broaddrick? It seems an abnormal want of curiosity on your part to ignore a charge plausibly leveled by a respectable woman that your husband is a rapist.

Mrs. Roosevelt did not run as a buy-one-get-one-free spouse.

These sorts of questions and their implications serve to distinguish the style as well as the character of our current First Lady from that of Eleanor Roosevelt, or any other of her predecessors.

Questions should also be asked of Mrs. Clinton about the way her Senate campaign in New York has been organized. Those who have read *The Last Hurrah*, Edwin O'Connor's wonderful novel about Boston politics, may remember that the central figure of that story, modeled on Mayor James Curley, at one point has to explain what the foreign policy dimension of a local election in Boston is. He explains, "It's actually not that difficult to grasp. Only two things count. One, Trieste belongs to Italy. Two, all Ireland must be free." The second point counts a bit more than the first, he adds, because the Irish were a bit faster than the Italians in getting to the trans-Atlantic boats.

Now let us look at *The Last Hurrah* as it is currently being played out in the New York Senate race. I'm glad to say that in this case, the philistine Democratic maxim that "all politics is local" happens not to apply. Rather, in much of New York, all politics is global—and what you have to bear always in mind are the three "I's" of Ireland, Israel, and Italy. Yet this ethno-political game has never been played with the level of cynicism Mrs. Clinton has brought to it. Let me discuss some obvious and not-so-obvious examples.

Everybody remembers the switch—actually, three switches—on the question of amnesty for the Puerto Rican bombers. The thing to keep one's eye on was the way in which Mrs. Clinton both was and was not involved, was and was not adequately informed, had or had not discussed either everything or nothing with her husband. The same slipperiness applied to her trip to Palestine and to Israel. It seemed she was an emissary of the United States while the trip was going well, but when things took a turn for the worse, the White House presented her as just a private citizen on vacation.

Perhaps the most significant and least remarked manipulations were over Pakistan. Every smart liberal in America knew exactly how and when to laugh at Governor Bush last fall when he couldn't remember the name of the self-appointed military dictator of Pakistan but said he had the impression the man was reasonable.

It was thought to be wrong to say either of these things—to admit he didn't know his name, and to suggest the military dictatorship could be a good thing.

Well, who's got the last laugh now? Mr. Lanny Davis—Mrs. Clinton's former errand boy and fibber in chief (though there is competition for that title)—has now been retained by the Pakistani military dictatorship at $22,500 a month plus expenses, and he has already arranged two dinners, one in Washington and one in New York, for Pakistani donors. And at one of these dinners, Mrs. Clinton said that though her husband had no plans to go to Pakistan on his trip to the subcontinent, she did hope that he would be able to alter his itinerary. The itinerary was duly altered. Afterwards, it was insisted again that, no, Mrs. Clinton had nothing to do with the change, never discussed it with her husband. This despite the fact that the First Lady has told us on other occasions that, "We talk all the time, Bill and I."

Mr. Davis, too, had to come before the cameras and say that he had no influence either with the First Lady or with the President. One wonders whether he tells that to the Pakistanis: "I don't have any influence with the President. If you want to give me $22,500 a month, that's your affair, but don't think I can make anything happen."

What I'm describing, ladies and gentlemen, comrades and friends, is the politics of a particularly sweltering banana republic. That's what we've been reduced to. And that's what you've become used to.

I don't know how long Mrs. Clinton's act of playing both ends against the middle can go on. Is she a bewildered outsider, amateur in politics, innocent newcomer to the scene? Or is she the always-consulted, always-activist, always-well-briefed operator? Which of Mrs. Clinton's dual personalities—simpering feminine versus tough, cool, plugged-in professional—will root in the public mind?

I have an awful and increasingly clammy impression that, for all of what I've just laid out (and for every example, I could have given ten of similar moral and financial and personal and intellectual squalor), despite all of this she's going to be saved by the bumblings of Rudy Giuliani and other opponents, the same way her terrible husband was saved by Newt Gingrich. In certain respects I've come to think that there really is a Vast Right-wing Conspiracy concerning the Clintons—and that it is helping keep Bill and Hillary in power, just as stupid conservatives helped the Roosevelts to four successive terms.

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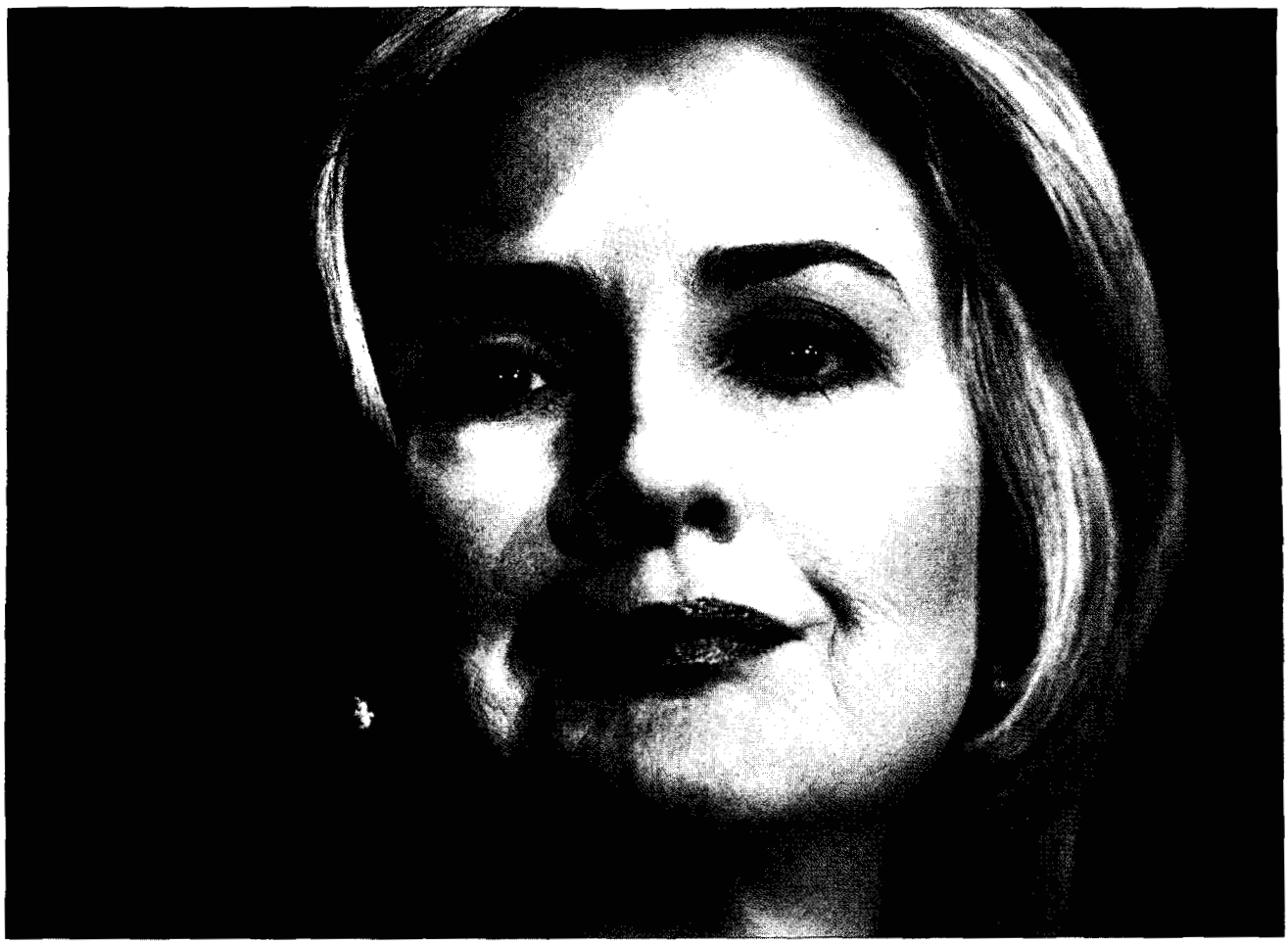

Hillary Rodham Clinton *as* First Lady

In the first of three panels examining Hillary Clinton's record, a mix of critics and defenders looks at her White House legacy. The contributors are

• ***John Brummett**, a reporter for the* Arkansas Democrat-Gazette *who has covered Mrs. Clinton longer than anyone else in the media*

• ***Joyce Milton**, a New Yorker who wrote* The First Partner, *the most substantive biography of Mrs. Clinton now available*

• ***David Brock**, who wrote one of the first biographies of the First Lady,* The Seduction of Hillary Rodham

• ***Eleanor Clift**, a contributing editor at* Newsweek *and a prominent defender of Mrs. Clinton on "The McLaughlin Group" and other TV programs.*

JOHN BRUMMETT: While I've not watched the Clintons with any greater insight than others, I am perhaps the only guy here who's done it pretty much as a life sentence. I began covering them as a very young reporter in the early 1970s, and so have more right to Clinton fatigue than just about anyone.

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I want to make five points about Mrs. Clinton. I will put them in sequence from the most blatantly obvious to the least obvious, and illustrate them with stories from back home in Arkansas.

The first point is that Mrs. Clinton is a political and policy disciplinarian for her husband—if not a personal disciplinarian. I like to tell the story of a card game on a little airplane during Clinton's 1982 campaign. He had been the youngest governor in the country. After two years he became the youngest ex-governor in the country, and in 1982 he was making the first of his many comebacks. I was traveling with him, Hillary was traveling with him, Chelsea was a toddler tagging along. There were three or four others in this tiny airplane. We'd had a busy day and were travelling from Jonesboro, Arkansas, to Little Rock in the early evening.

Clinton discovered a deck of cards and in his excited way said, "Let's play hearts." He wanted to put up a little makeshift table and play a game. As he prepared to deal the cards, from the back bench of the plane came Hillary's voice saying, very sternly, "Bill, no!" And he stopped in mid-deal and said, "What do you mean?" She said, "It's been a busy day. You need to work on that radio script for that spot we're going to do tonight, or you could get some rest, but you don't need to be playing cards."

We all looked at each uncomfortably, and I think mainly for my benefit he said, "Just one round," and dealt. And we played a very uncomfortable single hand of hearts.

More substantively, in that same campaign, I was traveling with the Clintons to northeast Arkansas, a farming community, and as we prepared to land, Clinton got out his notebook and noticed, apparently for the first time, that possibly in attendance at this event was a gentleman named Wayne Kryts, who at the time was a poster boy for the American Agriculture Movement. Kryts was a southeast Missouri farmer who had gone to a grain elevator and taken back his grain in a dispute over the way farmers were treated.

Clinton fretted, "I don't know enough about his situation, I don't know what to say to or about him." Then Hillary calmly gave him a superficial but accurate assessment of the issue and three or four quick, neutral talking points. He turned to me and said, "Isn't she great?" And I had to agree for that purpose she certainly had been.

The second point, still fairly obvious, is that Hillary Clinton is presumptuous and take-charge to the point of being controlling.

In 1980, the Clintons were going down. Bill was in a tough campaign for his first re-election, which he would lose. I was a 25-year-old reporter, wide-eyed, and entirely too friendly to him—nearly adoring, in fact. Late in the campaign, with things not going well, I was in a rural Arkansas motel, and the next day there was to be a full campaign schedule, ending in Hot Springs, Arkansas, with a debate between Clinton and his Republican opponent, Frank White. I got a call from Clinton's campaign secretary saying, "Hillary has told me to rearrange your schedule tomorrow so that you"—not the reporter assigned to White— "will cover that debate."

Mrs. Clinton exercises considerably more influence than her predecessors. Never before has a First Lady had direct influence over political appointments across the executive branch as she has.

–DAVID BROCK

Well, even in my youth and naivete, I knew that wasn't right, and I notified our city editor that not only was Hillary trying to run the campaign and be First Lady, she had signed on as editor of the *Arkansas Gazette*.

Another time when it appeared I was not going to be able to cover a Clinton campaign event in Fort Smith, Hillary took charge and said, "Here's what we'll do. We'll go on to Fayetteville, we'll leave John in Fort Smith, and we'll have the State Police drive him up later." Clinton rolled his eyes and later took me aside and said, "You know we can't do that. We can't use the State Police to transport a reporter for a campaign purpose." I said I did know that and was not going to go along.

So when I heard in '93 about the travel office matter, my first word was "Hillary." When I hear that some White House aides claim she simply said, "I want those people gone, I want our people in there," I find that perfectly credible. She has that ethical blindspot.

Third: Mrs. Clinton is somewhat politically ungifted. In the 1980s, when Arkansas was beset worse than most of the country by a recession, Hillary decided she wanted a swimming pool built at the Little Rock governor's mansion and had to be talked out of it. She said Chelsea should not be deprived of what her friends had simply because of their chosen profession of politics. It's an admirable maternal sentiment. But not one exhibiting a good political touch.

In Arkansas, she was untested, politically, to the point of insulation and protection. We didn't see her. The governor does not base his activities at the governor's mansion; he comes to the State Capitol. She was busy at the Rose Law Firm, and we did not cover her.

Whenever you would raise, as I did from time to time, issues of conflict of interest, she could easily deflect those, as could her husband, by saying that she was fully entitled to pursue her career and should not be criticized for it. There was a bit of "having it both ways," and it worked for her. All Clinton ever needed to say was "they're picking on my wife," and the voters of Arkansas would rally to his side.

At one point Hillary got herself named chairman of a committee to set stronger school standards for the state. It was not a politically difficult task to travel the state saying, "I want to give you more and better-paid teachers, I want to give you smaller classes, I want to give you counselors, I want to give you preschool, I want to give you more science and foreign languages."

Not long after, she came to Washington and presumed to take over health care. Her insulation from political realities in Arkansas, combined with the fact that she had been able to pick and choose popular, easy issues, made it predictable that she would fail.

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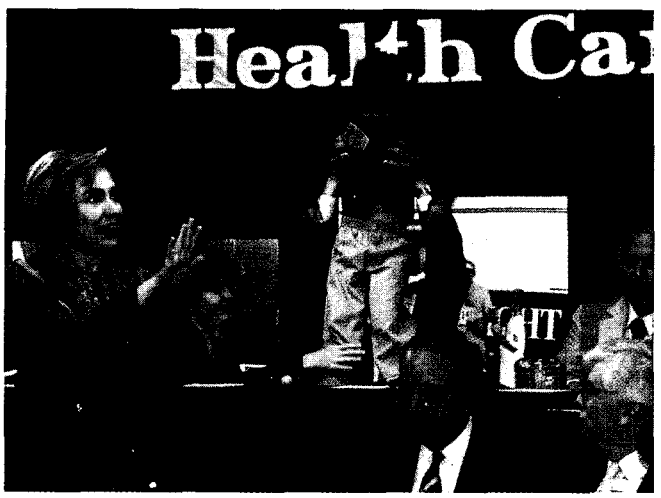

In terms of her retail political skills, she is not generally a warm person. I understand from her closest friends that she is a marvelously good person and makes a mean tossed salad and all of that. But she doesn't convey that.

Fourth: It has become mythology, and one to which I helped contribute, that she is more ideologically pure—that is to say, traditionally liberal—than her husband. The fact of the matter is she's been in lockstep with him for years on matters of policies and issues, ever since he adapted his instincts to the expedient course of remaining a governor in a somewhat conservative southern state.

She was with him when he, in order to pass his sales tax for education, hauled all the state's teachers in for a basic skills test, against resistance from the Left. Today, of course, she is warmly endorsed by the teachers' unions—part of the Clinton luck, and their ability to slide from one reality into another.

While Bill was adapting to the realities of the Reagan era, Hillary was maintaining her Left *bona fides* by her associations with the Children's Defense Fund and the Legal Services Corporation. But by the end of their time in Arkansas, she had moved to the corporate boardroom.

Her health-care initiative in Washington was not traditionally liberal. The traditional liberal plan would have been a single-payer system. Her massive bureaucratic approach reflected not liberalism so much as a controlling nature and a lawyerly attention to every possible contingency.

My fifth and final point is that Mrs. Clinton wants to be judged (as she judges others) by positions on political issues. Her answer to the "carpetbagger" question is, "Judge me not by where I'm from, but by what I say." What governmental programs you support reflects who you are, I think, in her view.

JOYCE MILTON: Preparing for this panel, I asked myself, "What is it about Hillary that makes her different from every other First Lady in history?" It isn't her marriage. There have been a lot of political wives who've had less than ideal marriages, including some in the White House. Jacqueline Kennedy, for instance, had a lot to put up with. The difference, of course, is that her problem never became our problem, whereas with the Clintons all of their problems become our problems eventually.

But there are differences that set Hillary apart. Most fundamentally, she's the first presidential spouse to see her years in the White House not as a privilege, not as an awesome responsibility to live up to, but rather as a platform, a career move, a chance to add to her résumé, to build her career for the future.

Hillary is distinguished by her hyperactivity. She's excessive in everything she does. You have to give her credit for being a hard worker. But I think if she just did a third as much, she would have higher approval ratings, and wouldn't have to be thinking about raising $25 million to run for the Senate.

When you look at Mrs. Clinton's résumé you find very strange things. Her friends start telling you, well, she wasn't really responsible for that. She was just on the board for this other thing. And the résumé falls apart in your hands.

And many of the things she gets involved in end up being very controlling and controversial and troubling. For example,

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in 1991 and '92, Hillary was very involved in education reform. In March 1992, she and Ira Magaziner wrote an article in the journal *Educational Leadership* arguing that the American economy couldn't keep up with Japan and Germany. They then presented nothing less than a plan to reorganize not only the whole American educational system but the entire U.S. economy.

We're going to get rid of the high school diploma, they said, and reorient everything toward vocational education, aiming at a certificate of competency by age 16. Skilled workers, as they go through life, will have to keep earning additional certificates, which will be administered by unelected state boards and regulatory agencies. Your name and certifications will go into a national labor data bank, in which all employers will be required by law to list all their available jobs, which will then be matched up to people.

Another corps of bureaucrats will go into workplaces and tell executives how to reorganize their factories and offices in order to use the skills that the certificate programs are producing. The employers will pay for this with a tax of 1 percent on their payroll. Quite a sweeping plan, all in the name of increasing productivity in the United States of America.

When pilot projects launched along these lines by Mario Cuomo and others failed miserably, suddenly this wasn't Hillary's idea. She was just recapitulating the ideas of others. Yet even after the New York pilot failures, Hillary's allies came up with an even more grandiose plan, with Hillary continuing to be listed on their literature as a co-chair for implementation. This is just one line among many on her résumé that the general public never hears about.

For Hillary, a massive manipulation of U.S. schools and workplaces was just another project. As with the failure of her convoluted health care plan, when her moment as policy czar passed, she just put that in the background.

But the question is: Does she really still believe these sorts of centralized, grossly controlling schemes would be a good idea? I think she does. All she has learned—and this is what she means when she says that she's a New Democrat and a moderate—is that you can't push these big plans through all at once. So now she's running in New York as a mild and even-tempered candidate.

I don't see the many social engineering plans in Hillary's background as left-wing so much as I see them as a kind of corporate fascism. They would give the government, in league with favored large industries, the power to decide who does what and how and why.

Of course the irony is that when it came time to act, Hillary's own health care task force couldn't even organize chairs for people to sit on at meetings, or manage their own travel vouchers or their budget, or avoid breaking federal regulations and laws. Their theory of "managed competition" was ginned up by a staff of people who didn't even believe in competition, or understand how it could possibly lower prices. So that was a fizzle.

I don't see the many social engineering plans in Hillary's background as left-wing so much as I see them as a kind of corporate fascism.

–Joyce Milton

Then in 1994, barely months after these heady attempts to remake great swathes of American society, Hillary Clinton was under legal scrutiny for various financial and ethical scandals. And suddenly she turned into the Pretty in Pink lady, who couldn't understand commodities trading, or how a real-estate option worked.

After she got over that hump, her office announced at the beginning of the second Clinton administration that Hillary's number-one project was going to be community development banks. They created an agency over at the Treasury Department, and there was a lot of pressure from the White House to give out grants, though it turned out no proper evaluation procedure had ever been set up. So the lion's share of the money simply went to institutions with which Hillary had long associations.

When Congress asked questions about this, the fellow in charge went back and wrote the evaluations up, and backdated them. He was caught and had to resign. Though Mrs. Clinton's office had claimed this was her number-one project, when it collapsed, Hillary suddenly had nothing to do with the initiative at all.

These same sorts of dodges and transformations have followed each of her political failures, and I expect we're going to keep seeing the pattern so long as Mrs. Clinton remains active in political life.

DAVID BROCK: No presidential spouse before Hillary Clinton has been so vital to the policy direction and the political survival of her husband. She'll be remembered as a First Lady who really broke the mold: as a professional spouse and working mother with her own office in the West Wing of the White House; as the first presidential spouse in history to assume a formal government post in leading the health-care initiative; and as the informal and perhaps someday formal head of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

First Ladies have always played some role in guiding their husbands in staffing the White House, and have sometimes adopted special causes of their own. But Mrs. Clinton exercises considerably more influence than her predecessors. Never before has a First Lady had direct influence over political appointments across the executive branch as she has.

Her goals have also been considerably more ambitious than those of her predecessors. They have extended beyond merely helping her husband or crafting her own image to advancing social and political causes in which she deeply believes—in other words, her own agenda.

It's conventional to attribute the political problems of the Clinton administration's first couple of years to Hillary, and I

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do think she is responsible for some of that. It's less often noted that Hillary was also involved in crafting the key elements of the post-1994 Clinton comeback.

For example, she pushed to bring Dick Morris back to the White House to implement the successful triangulation strategy. School uniforms, curfews, and the V-chip are all programs taken right out of her bestselling book, *It Takes a Village*. In my view both Clinton victories, 1992 and 1996, were as much hers as his.

When the Clinton presidency is judged, the credit and the failures ought to go as much to Hillary as to Bill. They really are an equal partnership. At times, they seem a kind of tag team. They're never popular at the same time. When he's popular, she isn't, and vice versa.

Mrs. Clinton may be best known for the moment when she rose to her husband's defense during the impeachment crisis, attributing his trouble to a vast right-wing conspiracy. That was a pivotal moment. Mrs. Clinton set the strategy and the tone for what ended up being a successful defense of the President in the Senate by convincing the American public that her opponents—Ken Starr, Newt Gingrich, the Republican Congress—represented a greater danger than Clinton's own transgressions.

Just before America's First Lady faced a grand jury, for the first time ever, regarding her missing law firm billing records.

ELEANOR CLIFT: It's impossible to look at Hillary Clinton and not grapple with the fact that she's every bit as polarizing a figure as her husband.

Hillary Clinton tried to take the power that every First Lady has enjoyed and bring it out of the closet, give it a title, and be accountable. I think she fell down on the accountable part.

When she failed with the health-care commission, she retreated to operate more in the traditional way, behind the scenes. She did not give up on policymaking, but she exerted influence quietly. She learned to value the public power that she had.

She put her clout behind a conference on day care. She pushed the concept of social investment in foreign policy. When President Clinton was in Africa, I'm not sure he would have been talking about girls' education if his wife hadn't.

She certainly is influential. Senator Dodd of Connecticut recently said on CNN that if he wanted to get something in the budget related to children, he didn't go to the President, and he didn't go to the head of the Office of Management and Budget, he went to the First Lady.

First Ladies have always had their pet projects. But Mrs. Clinton has a staff of professionals with policy expertise integrated into the West Wing staff. They don't have to fight their way into the policymaking circles and the meetings.

If Hillary Clinton loses her Senate race, clearly some of the luster of her First Ladyship will be gone. If she wins, a lot of what she has done in her eight years in Washington will be seen in a rosier light.

The book that my husband and I have authored is called *Madam President*. I think Hillary Clinton has made an opening for the first female to come to the White House.

I do think she wants political and emotional independence from her husband. I do think she feels this is her turn. Let him pay the bills, let her do politics. I think she must want to become a senator pretty badly.

Audience Questions

QUESTION: Joyce Milton said that Hillary is running as a New Democrat. David Brock said that she's the titular leader of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Can we pinpoint her ideologically?

BROCK: In the book I wrote about her I wanted to force her into a conventional left-wing mold. Then I found mid-1980s speeches that she had given in Arkansas that sounded as though Bill Bennett could have given them. So it's a mixed picture.

There's a strong element of pragmatism in her politics that can't be discounted. She's not an easy one to put a label on.

MILTON: Hillary doesn't always know herself. She talks a lot about balance. This often means that she has two contradictory ideas about the same subject which she hasn't resolved.

I believe Hillary is motivated to do good, and actually that's what scares me about her. Because I don't think she recognizes the distinctions between social work and politics. They get blurred together. She just doesn't seem to understand the unexpected social impacts that big government programs can have. Things don't necessarily turn out the way they look on the drawing board. Her daycare ideas are an example.

I see Mrs. Clinton as a turn-of-the-century Progressive. While she isn't always politically left-wing, she does firmly support what you might call New Age values. For instance, while she has proposed all kinds of programs to benefit children, she has never focused on the rates of children being born out of wedlock. She can't do that without getting a lot of negative feedback from her staunchest supporters.

Economically, she says Reaganomics was a mistake, but she's never filled us in on how and why. I think she doesn't understand economics. Contrary to some, I don't think Mrs. Clinton is so very bright. She's the kind of student who memorized every lesson and got *A*s. But I don't see her as having a creative mind.

QUESTION: Does Hillary have a sense of shame?

MILTON: I see Hillary as somewhat torn morally. She has gone along with a lot, partly for Bill's sake. But when the Clintons are accused of doing something wrong, the immediate response from both of them is, "Someone else did it first." It's the playground excuse.

They've repeatedly asked us to forget about what they were yesterday and accept the new identity that they have assumed today. "Just get over it; that's all in the past," they say. They both

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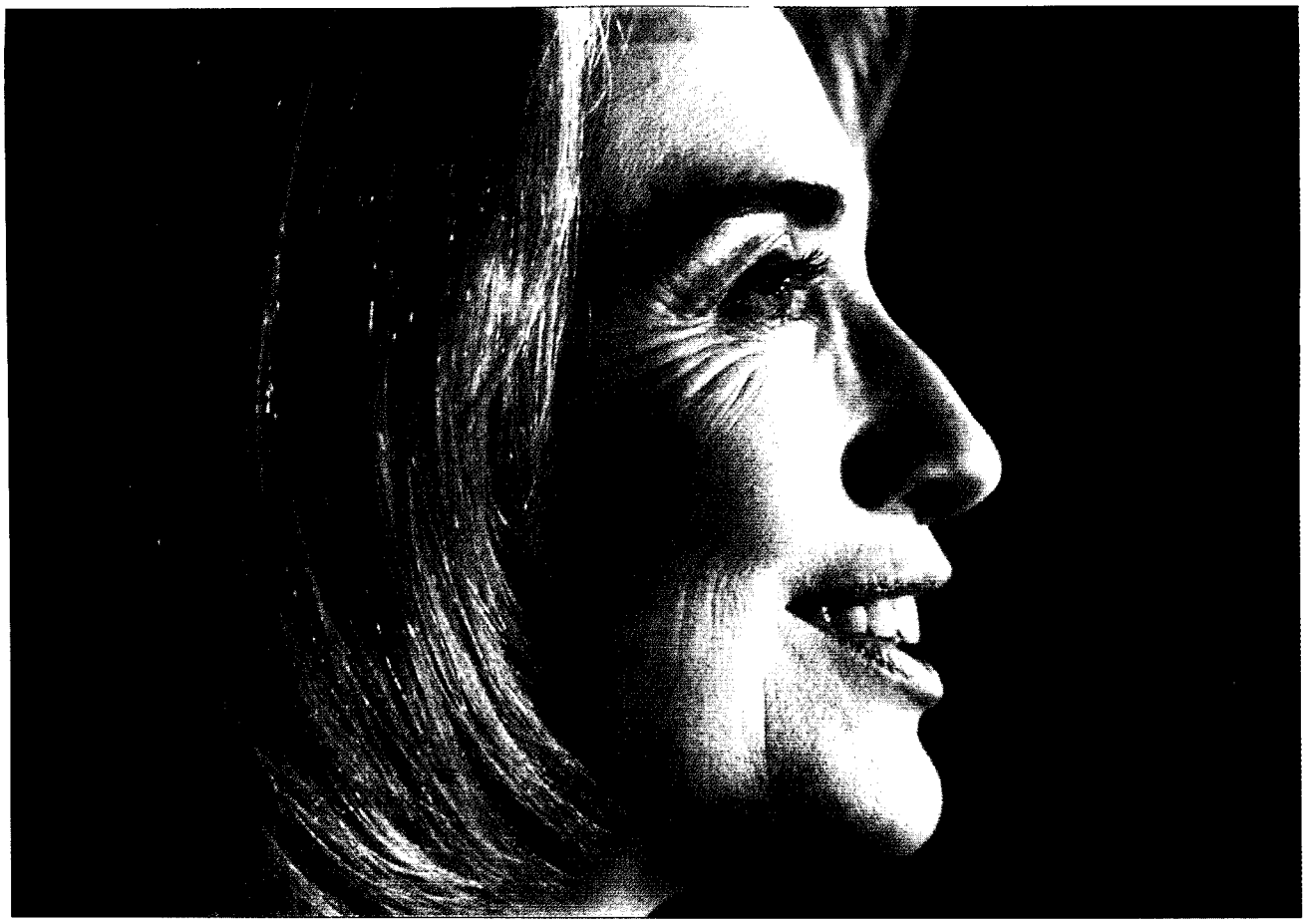

Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton?

This panel looks at Hillary Clinton's run for U.S. Senator from New York. Mulling her prospects of moving from behind-the-scenes operator to elected official are three well-informed political journalists:

• ***John Fund,*** *a member of the editorial board of the* Wall Street Journal, *who has watched this race closely from his New York City base*

• ***Jodie Allen,*** *a senior writer for* U.S. News and World Report

• ***Andrea Peyser,*** *a native New Yorker who is covering Mrs. Clinton's campaign for the* New York Post.

JOHN FUND: Hillary Clinton campaigns for the Senate with both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, she has all of the trappings of power. When her Air Force jet lands in small towns in New York State, it's obviously the biggest event of that day. She carries attention and security and press with her everywhere she goes because of the unusual nature of a First Lady running for office.

On the other hand, 50 percent of New Yorkers still are troubled, either greatly or somewhat, by her outsider status: She's a carpetbagger with no direct connection to New York. Even Robert F. Kennedy, who is always cited as her antecedent, was born in New

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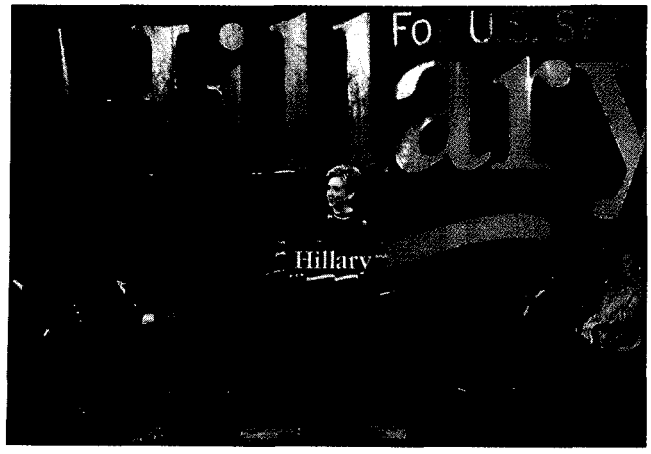

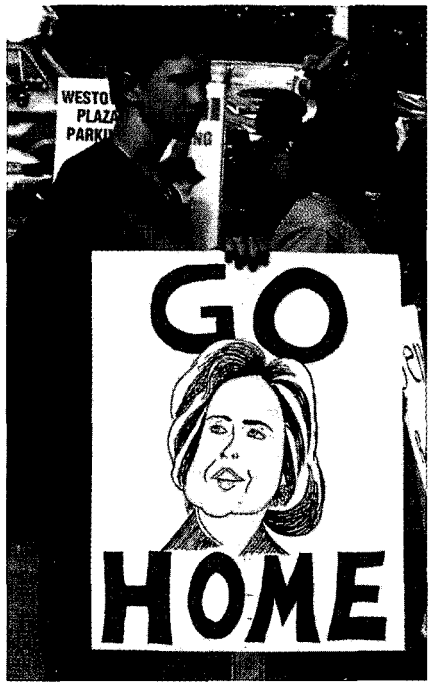

York and grew up as a child in New York City. There's never been someone with this national visibility parachuting into a Senate race to represent a significant state like New York.

The good news for Mrs. Clinton is that she is turning into a more effective candidate. I traipsed around with her on one of her suburban forays recently, and she has made a remarkable transformation. She can abandon the role of First Lady upon demand and turn into a small-town panderer worried about everything from local power plants to sewage connections. She does a very good job of listening and nodding and being concerned.

She is mostly issuing bland, feel-good policy pronouncements, but this is helping disarm her opponents, and she is turning into an effective candidate. She's had some rocky moments, but will, by the time the debates roll around, be far more poised and confident.

She is going to attack her opponents on campaign financing. Already Common Cause and a group called Democracy 21 have filed formal complaints, ostensibly against both Republican and Democratic campaigns, about the use of soft money. I say "ostensibly" because I find it interesting that Democracy 21's chairman is a labor lawyer named Ted Kheel, who was a major figure in the 1996 Teamsters/Democratic National Committee scandal. He was one of the bagmen transferring cash back and forth between Mr. Carey and the DNC. I find this a rather unusual person to head up a campaign finance reform effort, though obviously he is an expert on the subject.

Another advantage Mrs. Clinton may have is turnout. Turnout is the single most important factor in this race. New York City's population has basically held constant while that of the Upstate counties has increased slightly, and that of the suburban counties has increased significantly in the last 25 years.

In a typical election in New York State, the city only casts about 28 percent of the vote. In other words, more than seven out of ten votes in New York State are cast outside of the city, about half in the suburbs and the outer suburbs, and the rest in upstate counties, including the cities of Syracuse, Rochester, Albany, and Buffalo.

In the 1998 D'Amato-Schumer race, which Al D'Amato ended up losing by 10 points, there was a tremendously successful attempt to galvanize turnout in the minority communities. This took New York City's share of the vote up to about 33 percent, which is very high by modern standards, and that contributed to Schumer's landslide.

The key to this year's election is going to be the share of New York City's vote in the overall mix. If it's 28 percent, Mrs. Clinton may not win. If it's 33 percent, she can and probably will win. When Mayor Giuliani was the likely GOP candidate, he stirred up a great deal of animus in the black community, but now that will largely be absent with Rick Lazio as the GOP's candidate. The Reverend Al Sharpton admitted to me that it's going to be very difficult to have his organizers work overtime to urge voters to take out their feelings on Republican candidates.

One reason high minority turnout is important to Mrs. Clinton is because she's not looking especially impressive in other demographic categories. When Rudy Giuliani was in the race she polled only even or just slightly ahead among Jewish

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voters, though they are heavily Democratic. She loses very, very badly in the suburbs against a Republican candidate. Upstate she is still largely an unknown quantity.

Eventually Mrs. Clinton is going to have to hold formal news conferences. Right now, if you want to ask the First Lady a question you have to hope she'll take a couple on the fly after a carefully arranged town hall meeting. In this Senate race she has never submitted to the rigors of a full-dress, no-limits news conference. When she does, there are lots of subjects that will eventually come up, including the Brigadoon billing records that magically appeared in the White House after two years. The $100,000 commodities futures profit that she managed to score by, she says, reading the *Wall Street Journal* very closely. The Castle Grande project she said she didn't work on, but it turned out she did. The firing of Billy Dale and other civil servants in Travelgate.

There will be a report from Independent Counsel Ray on that over the summer, which of course will leak and be formally released before the election. The First Lady will not be in legal jeopardy on that, but I expect the report will indicate that when it comes to things like Mrs. Clinton's contention she didn't know the travel office employees were going to be fired and did not participate in the act, she has engaged in what one might call an "alternate conceptualization of reality."

To date, the New York press corps has been very gentle on Mrs. Clinton, not tough or terrible as they like to claim. The press will leap on any mistake either candidate makes, but nothing much deeper. I expect Mrs. Clinton is going to get a pass on almost all of the Clinton scandals, partly because she's going to avoid formal news conferences.

In all of her recorded public life, she has only once sat down and taken all questions offered, and that was the famous "Lady in Pink" news conference about Whitewater. In retrospect, even her defenders will admit that many of her statements in that news conference were, shall we say, inoperative.

Mrs. Clinton is still a celebrity candidate. She is not yet a substantive candidate in the sense that people are convinced she shares New Yorkers' concerns and would be most effective in handling their issues in the Senate. She also faces money challenges. She has raised more than $12 million already, and there will be a mountain of money spent on her behalf by sympathetic liberal groups. But the Republicans have also found it very easy to raise money against her. And they will pour this into ads in the fall.

Then there is the role of the minor parties in New York State. There is an Independence Party, which is a leftover from Ross Perot's movement. It has ballot status, and Bill Clinton has taken its leader, wealthy businessman Tom Golisano, out for several golf outings to try to butter him up. Mr. Golisano is a lot like Perot and has a reputation for being mercurial. But he apparently has thrown in his lot with Rick Lazio. (Many in the Independence Party resented Hillary's highhanded attitude when she applied for their endorsement.)

High minority turnout is important to Mrs. Clinton because she's not looking especially impressive in other demographic categories.

–JOHN FUND

The Liberal Party nomination was headed to Giuliani—who has stuffed his administration with the sons, daughters, and friends of New York Liberal Party chairman Ray Harding—until he dropped out. Now it is likely to be Hillary's. But the Liberal Party is vastly smaller than the Conservative Party in New York State. The Conservatives consistently draw a quarter-million votes, and no Republican has won statewide office in New York since 1974 without also having the Conservative line on the ballot. Unlike Giuliani, Rick Lazio should get that line easily.

The debates will be important and extremely well watched in this race, drawing a national audience for one of the first times ever in a Senate race. A lot of money and effort is going to be expended for the benefit of the relatively small pool of voters who don't already have an opinion on whether Hillary Rodham Clinton should be New York's next senator. These will be some of the most sought-after and influential people in American politics this year.

JODIE ALLEN: Let me offer a positive picture of Hillary Clinton as a U.S. Senator. She will, first and foremost, be disciplined and diligent, well-informed and well-prepared. She asks smart questions of her staff and the people who consult with her. Even before her recent "listening tour" of New York State, she knew how to listen.

But she also knows how to talk. She is an accomplished public speaker with sometimes uncanny poise. Right after the Monica Lewinsky scandal hit the headlines in January 1998, when most of us in her shoes would have been hiding under a bed, I saw her address a packed auditorium of international movers-and-shakers gathered at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. She spoke for about 40 minutes without notes and without pause, and she wowed 'em.

And Mrs. Clinton—remarkably in this town of flacks and flunkies—does a lot of her own research; so she usually knows what she's talking about, even if you don't agree with her. Her staff chuckles about her famous cardboard box, into which she dumps articles, briefing papers, and research summaries that catch her interest, which she drags out at meetings. If it's dairy farms she needs to talk about, she'll know the price of every cow and the cost and distribution of every milk subsidy.

As a senator, she will be religious in impulse. Her religiousness has been firm since her youth, and contrary to the '60s stereotype, she was no hippie—she never dabbled in drugs or took to the streets to bring down the system.

She will be most concerned about "kitchen table" issues—especially children both at home and around the world. Mrs. Clinton is, of course, a mother herself, and her own daughter is by all accounts and appearances a poised, sensible, and hard-working student.

Mrs. Clinton was an early proponent of the notion that

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a child may, under certain extreme circumstances, have rights and interests that trump those of his parents. This idea was once dubbed radical. But as *Washington Post* columnist Richard Cohen has pointed out, it seems to have acquired a far broader—and more conservative—constituency in the current arguments over the fate of one Elián González.

She will be a persuasive politician. All her experience on the campaign trail—not just for herself but earlier for other candidates—seems to demonstrate that the more people see her the more they like her.

This may come as a surprise, but as a Senator I think she will be willing to compromise. Mrs. Clinton has been trained in compromise ever since she first arrived in Arkansas and discovered that her plain-Jane, eyeglassed image didn't play well with the Razorbacks. So she got blonded and contact-lensed, and now if there is any concern about her appearance among her detractors it's that she's too photogenic.

This may come as a surprise, but as a Senator I think she will be willing to compromise.

–JODIE ALLEN

Sure, her health care plan was over-engineered and overbearing. But since then, she's learned to be a good tactician. Since the health-care debacle she has worked through intermediaries—on Capitol Hill, in the nonprofit and corporate sectors—in many quiet policy pushes. She knows when to keep her head down and live to fight another day. Her acquiescence in welfare reform is a good case in point.

Mrs. Clinton will draw attention—not just to herself, but to the important business of policymaking. She will be devoted to her job.

My goodness. Who could possibly want an elected representative like that?

ANDREA PEYSER: At her campaign kickoff, Mrs. Clinton announced she would call herself Hillary. Just Hillary, period. No Clinton. She's divorced herself from that.

So now we in New York are on a first-name basis with this celebrated woman who would represent our state, a place where she's never lived, in the Senate, a body with which she has no experience, running on a record that is largely derivative of her husband, from whom she is separated, if not officially then in fact.

I disagree with the idea that the more we in New York see of Hillary Clinton, the more we like her. What's really surprising instead—given Hillary's celebrity status, press advantage, and Democratic base in a liberal state—is that Mrs. Clinton is doing as badly as she is. Most of all, why isn't she running better among voters she really ought to own?

Look at two groups that you would think are her natural constituencies: women and Jews. As a woman and a Jew and a Democrat myself, I have some ideas about why these groups are not embracing her in the way one would expect.

Jews usually vote 70, 80, 90 percent Democrat in New York races. No Democratic candidate has ever won a statewide race without at least two-thirds of the Jewish vote. Yet in recent Zogby polls, the best Hillary has done was to poll 57 percent among Jews. The way things look now, those numbers probably aren't going to get much higher.

Meanwhile, Hillary puts herself forward as a lifelong champion of women. Yet Zogby polls showed her barely splitting female voters with Rudy Giuliani when he was her opponent. This is very surprising. Mrs. Clinton is quite popular among African-American women. But among white women she is in real trouble; she's actually losing.

When a Buffalo radio commentator asked her in January why so many people "foam at the mouth at the idea of her in the Senate," Hillary was ready. She responded that some people don't like a woman taking strong positions. Then she added very fliply, "and perhaps they don't like my hairstyle." In April she continued in this vein, telling an upstate audience that women candidates in New York face greater burdens than men.

Here is a person who was deeply involved in most of the Clinton scandals, and ruthless in her role in several of them. And yet she has the convenient ability to present herself as a woman and wife who is a picked-on victim. Then she moves out of that character into being a political hardball player again. As a woman, I find this offensive. If you are going to go for the job, you should be willing to take the lumps. Yet whenever she is confronted with her participation in some unsuccessful political venture she fades into the "I'm being taken advantage of" mode.

This seems very out of character for Hillary, a lifelong feminist who's always preaching the fierceness and power of women. And it's not just off-the-cuff rhetoric. I don't think anything Hillary says is off-the-cuff; she's a very, very controlled candidate. Hillary is using this women-are-victims strategy to connect with working women, women who face sexism that Hillary can only imagine. And perhaps this strategy is working, because her numbers have improved among women recently. But then maybe not.

There's another aspect to this that cannot be ignored. Why, as that radio host in Buffalo pointed out, do so many people have a visceral dislike of Hillary Clinton? What are we so afraid of? As a reporter, I speak to a lot of people in New York. Some will vote for Mrs. Clinton, some won't, but I can't remember a single person who was enthusiastically happy with Hillary Clinton, who really liked her.

The most enthusiastic audiences I have seen were in an African-American church in Brooklyn and among teachers' unions. She can wow those audiences. But her enthusiastic audiences are always hand-picked. After the Brooklyn appearance I walked out into the neighborhood and talked to lots of people who weren't allowed in because they weren't reliable.

Not long ago I spoke with two women, one an at-home mom in Brooklyn, the other an editor at a publishing house in Manhattan. This was not long after the Patrick Dorismond shooting, and each one of these women was really mad with the way Rudy Giuliani handled the death.

So I asked them, "Are you going to vote for Hillary?" And

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they responded, "Hell, no." Then each woman, and they couldn't have been more different, engaged in a several-minute diatribe as to why she couldn't stand Hillary Clinton, somebody neither of them has met.

They were mad at Rudy for screwing up, but they were madder at him for the boost they felt he was giving Hillary. Though Giuliani is now out of the picture, this illustrates how many people are eager to vote for any candidate who seems to have a chance of blocking her.

I haven't seen this pronounced a visceral reaction to a candidate in a political race before. I've come to the conclusion that one thing New Yorkers don't like about Mrs. Clinton is that she strikes them as a phony. It isn't the phony Yankees cap. It isn't just her flip-flops on Puerto Rican terrorists, Palestinian statehood, and so forth. The deeper problem is that we in New York don't really know who she is, or what she wants. We don't trust her.

As we mull why she decided to grace us with her presence and run for office, we ask: Why here? Why now? Why does this woman feel she can do a better job than anyone else in representing a state that, clearly, from all her mistakes, she does not understand? She has never given us a good reason to trust her—just platitudes about health care and caring about people. I've never heard her say this is exactly what I'm going to do, this is why I'm better than the other guy.

What I *have* heard Hillary Clinton say, in feeling as much as in words, is that she feels on some level that she is owed this Senate seat, that it is payback for putting her career on hold when she married Bill Clinton, and for the humiliation she suffered during his impeachment trial. Being a victim made Hillary very popular during impeachment. Her approval ratings were high when she looked downcast. But that's not a good reason to put somebody in the Senate.

Besides, I'm not sure New Yorkers believe she's really this poor victim of her husband. We see a woman who was complicit in the White House scandals, a shrewd player in the administration, and very much part of his efforts to cover up his messes.

Finally, many New Yorkers sense that Hillary is not able to think on her feet. It can take her days to make a statement about events, and we get the impression that pollsters are running her campaign, that her policies blow with the wind.

Unless she can give us more coherent reasons as to why New York would be better off with Hillary in the Senate, I suspect many New Yorkers will be more than happy to go on with their lives without the celebrity in our midst.

Given her celebrity status, press advantage, and Democratic base in a liberal state, it's surprising Mrs. Clinton isn't doing better.

–Andrea Peyser

Discussion and Questions

FUND: My take on "why now" is very simple. It is much easier to raise money and attract public attention as a First Lady than as a former First Lady in the year 2004 back in your home state of Illinois. This is her moment to capitalize on her secondhand power.

Look at how Bill Clinton, her campaign manager, has been bending the entire weight of the federal government toward her. In January, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew Cuomo, on a very dubious pretext, snatched control of all of New York's homeless programs away from Mayor Giuliani and put them under federal supervision. That announcement was first made public by Mr. Cuomo's wife at a Democratic Party Christmas dinner, which is a rather unusual way to announce government policy. When she announced it to the assembled Democratic nabobs, she said, "And this is just another example of how we are going to put this mayor into his proper place."

If Giuliani had remained Mrs. Clinton's opponent, strategists close to the Clinton campaign tell me there is a good chance the New York City Police Department would have been taken over by the Justice Department in the fall. Probably the Clintons would have tried to avoid being too obvious. Maybe the President would have had Justice issue a scathing report, and then stepped forward, biting his lower lip, to say, "This is all so very sad. Under normal circumstances, the failed oversight by Mayor Giuliani would demand federal remedial action be taken. But I don't want to politicize this brutal situation, so I'll refrain." If you don't think he's capable of that, you ain't seen nothing yet.

Keep in mind that Miami has a murder rate of civilians by police ten times that of New York. Philadelphia has a rate four or five times higher. A total of only 11 persons were shot and killed by New York City police in 1999, which is the lowest number on record and significantly below the rate of 28 people per year under previous New York Mayor David Dinkins (who was black) and his fellow Democrat Mayor Ed Koch. But these are immaterial facts. Hillary Clinton is running not just a New York campaign but a national crusade, and if ripping up the New York City police force had been judged necessary as a way of taking down Rudy Giuliani, then the entire weight of the federal government would have been brought to bear.

Now that it's a different Republican in the rifle sights, the pressure will be applied in other places. But there could easily be an October surprise or two in this campaign, bearing an originating address of "Washington, D.C."

QUESTION: If Gail Sheehy's recent work is to be believed, the prime mover of the President's bombing campaign in Kosovo and Serbia was the First Lady. What effect on our foreign policy would Senator Clinton have?

FUND: I think she'd be an interventionist. I think she'd find things to bomb all around the world.

ALLEN: She certainly is a human rights activist. There's no question about that. But she would be torn, as many Democrats are, between their impulse to solve every problem for every beleaguered group, and their general dislike of the military. Those inclinations would be competing. I suspect she'd probably, in the end, be more pacifistic.

FUND: Certainly towards Cuba.

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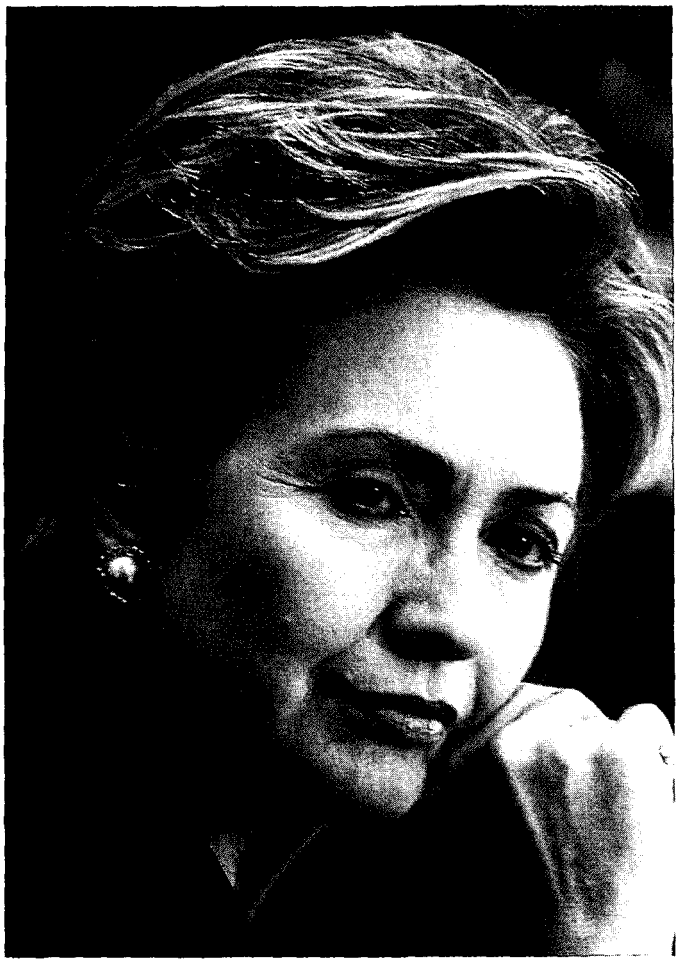
Hillary Rodham Clinton *as* Feminist Heroine



Hillary Clinton has obviously become a female icon, of a very controversial sort. Our final panel considers what type of example she sets for women. Participants include:

- ***Christina Hoff Sommers,*** *Brady Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and author of* Who Stole Feminism?
- ***Karen Burstein,*** *former New York state senator, New York Family Court Judge, New York City Auditor General, and chair of the State Consumer Protection Board under Mario Cuomo*
- ***Phyllis Schlafly****, author of 16 books, columnist and radio commentator, and president of Eagle Forum*
- ***Laura Ingraham****, MSNBC host and author of the book* The Hillary Trap: Looking for Power in All the Wrong Places
- ***Betty Friedan,*** *author of* The Feminine Mystique
- ***Lynne Cheney,*** *former head of the National Endowment for the Humanities and senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.*

CHRISTINA HOFF SOMMERS: A few years ago, I attended a feminist conference in New York City that included a session entitled "Anger and Struggle." The moderator, literature professor Jane Marcus, introduced herself as "an expert on anger." She urged the assembled women to "use your rage in your writing!" The other panelists were a Harvard University instructor described as "angry and struggling"; Catharine Stimpson, until recently director of the MacArthur Fellows program, introduced as "enraged and engaged"; and Brenda Silver of Dartmouth ("angry since 1972"). Each speaker recited a tale of outrage, and warnings of male backlash to come.

I believe Hillary Rodham Clinton would have been very much at home at that "anger and struggle" gathering. Why do I believe that, and why is that worrisome?

Feminists can be roughly divided into two camps: equity feminists and gender feminists. Equity feminists want fair treatment for women and no discrimination. From the point of view of equity feminists (and I count myself among them) most of the major battles in the U.S. have been won. Women are not merely doing as well as men in this society, in many ways they are now doing *better*.

But gender feminists are not celebrating. Gender feminists see women as a subordinate class, routinely tyrannized and victimized by men. Many live in a chronically offended state.

Why do I count the First Lady with the gender feminists? After all, she never speaks these days as a professed feminist. She is a careful politician; so you will not hear her mention "patriarchal hegemony" or the "gender system." But you will find her practicing what the gender feminists preach. Like other gender feminists, she constantly exaggerates women's victim status and

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routinely backs up her claims with misleading or false statistics. I will give a couple examples.

Here is a passage from a speech Mrs. Clinton gave about a year ago on "Pay Equity Day": "We know that women who walk into the grocery store are not asked to pay 25 percent less for milk. They're not asked by their landlords to pay 25 percent less for rent. And they should no longer be asked to try to make their ends meet.... It is not just a gap in wages, it's a gap in our nation's principles and promises."

I have rarely heard the wage gap presented in a more artful and inflammatory way. Mrs. Clinton is saying that women are being cheated out of 25 percent of their wages. How true is that?

Most economists who have studied the gap will tell you that it has little to do with discrimination. Wage differences between males and female are mainly the effect of characteristically different priorities that men and women express in their work and home lives. Women devote more time to children than men do. They are far more likely than men to drop out of the workplace, or cut down on work once they have a family. This results in lower earnings. Moreover, women and men follow different career paths. College women, for example, are far more likely to pursue degrees in fields like psychology and journalism than in more lucrative fields such as engineering and computer science. There is still wage discrimination in some workplaces; it is illegal, and those who practice it deservedly find themselves in court. But the First Lady is not talking about sporadic injustices. She is asserting widespread, sexist discrimination.

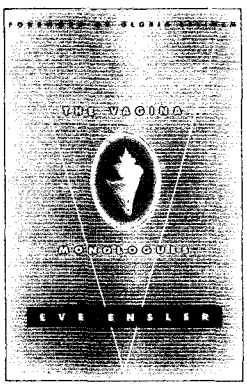
A second example comes from a 1997 speech Mrs. Clinton delivered at the United Nations: "Domestic and sexual violence remains the most serious, underreported, and widespread human rights violation in the world. In almost every nation of the world, domestic violence is one of the leading causes of injury to women. In my country, 30 percent of female murder victims are killed by current or former partners."

She makes it sound like there is an epidemic of murderous domestic violence in the United States. But what are the numbers? We have approximately 100 million adult women in the U.S. Each year about 1,300 women (and 500 men) are murdered by an intimate. All of these deaths are tragic. But in so vast a population, death by violence is actually rather rare. To give the impression of a crisis of sexist murders is irresponsible and inflammatory. Again, this is classic gender feminism.

Gender feminists are always telling us that history is one long conspiracy against women. Does Hillary believe that? Here is how *Washington Post* reporter Bob Woodward describes the First Lady's relationship with feminist Jean Houston: "Hillary Clinton and Houston clicked.... Houston said the first lady was carrying the burden of 5,000 years of history, when women were subservient. The rising of women to equal partnership with men was the biggest event in history, Houston said. Hillary Clinton represented the 'new story.' She was reversing thousands of years of expectation and was there up front, probably more than virtually any woman in human history—apart from Joan of Arc."

When we read between the lines, we find a zealous feminist who enjoys the company of some rather loony sexual ideologues.

–CHRISTINA HOFF SOMMERS



Jean Houston became so close a confidant of Hillary's she at one point moved in to the White House. Those around the First Lady commented on how animated she became after a session with Houston. I have no way of knowing whether the First Lady believes it to be her unique destiny to overthrow 5,000 years of patriarchy. But she was clearly inspired and exhilarated by Houston's ideas. It is impossible to imagine Senators Dianne Feinstein and Kay Bailey Hutchison, or Governor Christine Todd Whitman, forging this kind of bond with someone like Jean Houston.

Another of Hillary Rodham Clinton's muses is radical feminist Eve Ensler, author of the New York City hit play *The Vagina Monologues*. Ensler claims to have discovered that "women secretly love to talk about their vaginas." Such stories became the basis for her play, a celebration of what Ensler calls women's "vagina brain." Interestingly, there are no good men in Ensler's raunchy comedy. There are only rapists, brutes, insensitive louts, and one vile little boy.

One admirer of Eve Ensler is actress Glenn Close, who told the *New York Times*, "You don't just hook-up with Eve. You become part of her crusade. There's a core of us who are Eve's army." One member of Eve's army is Hillary Clinton. The First Lady chose Ensler to serve on the exploratory committee that advised her on whether to run for the Senate in New York. Hillary Clinton has agreed to write the foreword for Ensler's next play, called *Necessary Targets*. The work is a look at rape victims in Bosnia, but, Ensler explained to the *Hartford Courant*, it is really about the spiritual poverty of consumer-obsessed Americans, and how much we need to learn from the Bosnians. "Coming from America, we really don't know how to be with each other...we know how to consume."

Hillary Clinton has read enough polls to know that gender feminism is not a winning platform. She does not explicitly write or speak as a gender warrior. So we have to read between the lines, and when we do we quickly find a zealous and committed gender feminist who enjoys the company of some rather loony sexual ideologues. And if she enters the Senate, I expect she will forcefully promote their agenda.

KAREN BURSTEIN: Hillary Clinton is the kind of person who offers little girls a model for their lives, and little boys an understanding of the promises and opportunities that exist for women. She is a woman of considerable intelligence. She's a person who has failed big and in public. And she has managed, having failed, not to be so horrified or embarrassed as to retreat into silence.

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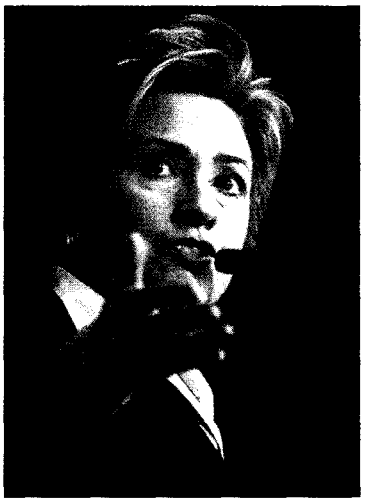

Hillary has also managed to have a marriage, a child, and a career.

For me, the great contribution of feminism has been the notion of choice. And what Mrs. Clinton has vindicated over and over in her life is the notion that you do have choices, and that even if you make them and they turn out to be wrong, you can step back and go somewhere else.

Hillary Clinton has led a life of great accomplishment. She was one of few women staffers on the Senate Watergate Committee. She began Arkansas programs that taught poor women how to be good parents. She encouraged legislation that changed adoption and foster care in this country. This is a woman whose commencement speech at Wellesley College was quoted in *Life.*

Hillary Clinton's experiences are also useful for us to understand where women are at the present moment. Let me talk about the issue of her marriage. In New York I frequently hear people say, "I like her a great deal, but she stays with that disgusting man. How could she do it? There must be something wrong with her."

But what she might respond is, "How do you know what's inside of my marriage, and how do you know what my relationship is to this man?" There are some places in politicians' lives where you don't enter. And we must give Hillary Clinton credit and respect for the choices she makes.

I asked a young African-American woman who works for me, who is a third-generation welfare recipient, "Tatiana, what do you think of Hillary Clinton?"

"Well," she said, "I like her a lot."

And I said, "Why is that?"

She said, "Well, because she does brave, hard things, and she's not afraid to go out there and speak up, and I think she cares about people like me, and I think she cares about her daughter."

I said, "Do you really mean that?"

She said, "Yes. But I wish she were black."

I asked, "So, is she your hero?"

She thought to herself and said, "I guess so."

For me, heroes are people who are not larger than life. They're human beings who step out with a measure of grace, take pain. They're people who risk themselves to magnify our voices.

So as Tatiana said, Hillary is her hero, and I'll tell you, she's mine.

PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY: Hillary Rodham Clinton is not an interesting person. She hasn't accomplished anything of note in business or profession or politics. Her speeches are a bore. And she isn't even a likeable person.

But of course she is a feminist heroine, because she saw to it that her husband never betrayed the feminist political agenda (though he betrayed everybody else, including Hillary). For that, the feminists can thank Hillary, which is why she is their favorite.

Hillary's most famous soundbites were calculated to reassure the feminists that she is their soul sister. On that famous "60 Minutes" interview when she covered for Bill Clinton in his liaison with Gennifer Flowers, Hillary stated defiantly, "I'm not some little woman standing by her man like Tammy Wynette." Even as she was assuming the role of long-suffering wife in denial, Hillary was broadcasting a feminist message.

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During the year we suffered through the Monica soap opera, Hillary proved in spades that she was exactly what she denied being: "some little woman standing by her man." That wasn't feminist behavior. But apparently the end justified the means. The goal was to keep Bill Clinton from being ousted from office.

Hillary's personality and ideology came through even more clearly during the 1992 campaign when she responded to a reporter's question about conflicts of interest between her law firm and Governor Bill Clinton's office. She replied, "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas." That was perfectly descriptive of the feminist worldview, which is based on a cultural and economic putdown of devoted mothers and homemakers.

Hillary's views on marriage were spelled out back in 1974 in an article she wrote for the *Harvard Educational Review*: "The basic rationale for depriving people of rights in a dependency relationship [i.e., wives and children] is that certain individuals are incapable or undeserving of the right to take care of themselves and consequently need social institutions specifically designed to safeguard their position. Along with the family, past and present examples of such arrangements include marriage, slavery, and the Indian reservation system."

That's vintage 1970s feminism, the ideology which teaches that non-employed wives are second-class citizens, that marriage leaves women as servants bogged down in dirty diapers and dirty dishes, and that women need out-of-the-home careers to have real fulfillment.

Hillary displayed this same mindset when she sounded off on her notion that children should be raised and regulated by the "village" rather than by their own mothers, who are presumably not educated enough to do anything more stimulating than baking cookies.

So, a feminist heroine Hillary truly is, but a feminist role model she is not. In fact she is (pardon the expression) just a housewife. She is the topic of today's discussion only because she is the wife of President Bill Clinton. She made her money and built her so-called career the old-fashioned way: She married it.

Hillary tried hard to pretend she was a feminist career woman. Campaigning with Bill in 1992, they both promised us a "co-presidency." As she put it, "If you vote for my husband, you get me; it's a two-for-one, blue plate special."

Hillary started her adult life sputtering the campus drivel of the 1960s. In her graduation speech at Wellesley College in 1969, Hillary Rodham said she was searching for "more immediate, ecstatic, and penetrating modes of living," so that she could come "to terms with our humanness" and "talk about reality, authentic reality, inauthentic reality."

She still had not come to terms with reality by the time she made a speech, as First Lady, at the University of Texas on April 6, 1993. Hillary's rambling discourse there sounded like an all-night bull session in a co-ed college dorm. "We are in a crisis of meaning," she declaimed. "What do our governmental institutions mean? What do our lives in today's world mean? ...What does it mean in today's world...to be human?"

We're inclined to respond, "Speak for yourself, Hillary." Lacking meaning in life is an individual, not a societal, problem. Most of us have no trouble finding meaning in our lives, and it would seem she should have been able to as well before moving into the White House.

Despite her inability to cope with life's meaning, Hillary has never outgrown the adolescent arrogance of the campus radicals of the 1960s and the bra-burning feminists of the 1970s. That's the arrogance that led her in 1993 to try to redesign and take over the $850 billion U.S. health care industry.

After Hillary assumed control of the health care issue, we saw typical feminist behavior in action. She accepted deference and chivalry from the middle-aged Congressmen who refrained from asking her any tough questions, and then she used her First Lady's authority to flout the law. The lawsuit filed by the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons proved that she deliberately violated federal law by running her Health Care Task Force and Working Group in secret, in order to conceal the identities of persons who had provable conflicts of interest. If she hadn't had the First Lady's skirts to hide behind, she would have followed Webster Hubbell and others out of Washington.

When the Monica scandal broke, Hillary affected the role of victim while at the same time she was quarterbacking the coverup.

–PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY

When the Monica scandal broke, Hillary affected the role of victim while at the same time she was quarterbacking the coverup, manning the battle stations, and manufacturing the spin about a "vast right-wing conspiracy." In feminist lingo, she became a "macho feminist."

Macho feminism was first modeled in the movie *Thelma and Louise*. And maybe the ending of that film was prophetic, when Thelma and Louise got in their automobile and drove off a cliff to their death. That was their supreme act of women's liberation, because they made the decision themselves: No man told them to commit suicide.

Maybe New York will be Hillary's cliff, just as it was Geraldine Ferraro's. If so, hers will be an act of authentic macho feminism: No man told her to run.

LAURA INGRAHAM: I don't think Hillary Clinton is evil, I just think she is wrong—on everything from family politics to gun control to teachers' unions.

Certainly she is not a good role model for women. Her personal life has turned into a bizarre, sad relationship where both husband and wife depend in desperate and unhealthy ways on each other at different times of their lives. If you walked around Washington and asked mothers of all political persuasions whether her life and her choices are ones they'd want for

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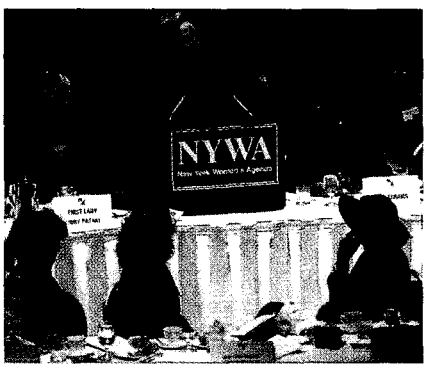

their daughters, I think an overwhelming number of people would say no. In many ways, Hillary is a road map on how not to lead your life as a young woman today.

Hillary Clinton represents a lot of the conflicts all women have. Many of us, like Hillary, have to choose at some point between dependency and the risky business of going forward on our own. We all have to decide whether we're going to be accountable, whether we're going to stand up for what we believe.

The most dangerous thing about Hillary isn't what she did in Whitewater or the billing records or any of the various scandals. It's her seeming inability not to be self-reflective, not to look back on some of the things she's done in her own life, see mistakes, come clean, and make changes.

Give us a forthright answer about whether welfare was really good for poor people. How about an honest reflection on whether women were really better off after the sexual revolution ran its course. Why can't she be honest about the undeniable facts out there?

That's what I think the Hillary trap is: An unhealthy dependency—in both your personal life and in the political realm—on old solutions that have failed. In that sense, Hillary has squandered her smarts, squandered her education.

Women are doing well today. You only have to spend some time in high schools to see how confident many young women are now. They're succeeding in school. They're playing sports. I played three sports in high school, two in college. I must say I don't ever feel like I've been discriminated against for being a woman. But none of this reality shows up in Mrs. Clinton's worldview.

Hillary is mostly the product of her marriage, and her main work has been to prop up her husband's political life, to cling to him no matter how he treats her, and to bail him out when he gets in trouble. So we know her through her mistakes. We know her through beliefs and policies that have unquestionably been ruinous to women.

Her life is not the life that most women want. Women don't want to end up on the stage, as Hillary did on her fifty-second birthday, with a philandering husband standing up and saying how she's the greatest woman in the world. Who wants that for her daughter?

Discussion and Questions

LYNNE CHENEY: Those defending Mrs. Clinton as a feminist heroine might be interested in a comment my daughter made when I told her I was moderating this panel. She said, "I think the people who want to defend Mrs. Clinton as a feminist heroine should be asked exactly which parts of her experience one should point to. What exactly has she done?" Then she quoted Peggy Noonan's new book, "Mrs. Clinton is so famous, so celebrated for her accomplishments. She so quickly and eagerly refers to them. Yet when you look at the record, her reputation for accomplishment seems to be just another fiction."

BURSTEIN: But if she gets elected to the Senate in her own right, that will be a wonderful signal to women who have been putting their energies and efforts into advancing their husband's career that it's not too late for them. And if Hillary has benefited from being Bill Clinton's wife, well, George W. Bush has bene-

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fited from having a father who was President. The problem is you're holding her to a higher standard.

INGRAHAM: Don't you think we need some explanations from her about the events that completely gripped our country for two years? Her husband was impeached for lying under oath. People want to understand this. Was her marriage just a completely political bargain? Did she stick it out just to protect the political left wing? Did she know about Monica?

BURSTEIN: I think it's outrageous of us to put ourselves in her place and imagine that she's a fan of her husband, that she's adopted every view he takes. Her choice is that she loves him, that she wants to stay married to him. Her reasons for that choice are none of your business.

CHENEY: What really drives me crazy is when Hillary acts like the happy wife. Walking hand in hand off the helicopter together at critical moments. It is just so distressing to me.

BURSTEIN: Passion and emotion and love are such confusing things in real life.

CHENEY: But hypocrisy is the thing that is most distressing.

BETTY FRIEDAN: As far as I'm concerned, Hillary Clinton and the President are good role models for the children of our country. They illustrate a marriage between equals. She was at the top of her law school class, he was in the middle of the same class.

She, through her intelligence and her efforts, helped advance his career. And now she's moving on her own to run for the Senate in New York. This is a wonderful role model.

QUESTION: Nobody has brought up Juanita Broaddrick, and the fact that Bill Clinton has been plausibly accused of rape. Hillary Clinton has been alleged to have been complicit in helping to cover up not only that particular alleged abuse but all the other incidents that have gone on through this man's career. Surely this is something that needs to be discussed when the subject of Mrs. Clinton's feminism is raised.

BURSTEIN: I don't believe Juanita Broaddrick's is a credible story. Now maybe I'm wrong. But it's very rare, in my experience, if something that awful happens, that there isn't more to it.

So the answer to your question is simple: Hillary Clinton hasn't done anything wrong by staying with a man she doesn't know to have done the thing he's accused of. If he did this thing, and she's crazy, and I'm crazy, and everybody who thinks the story is made up is crazy, then we'll be very sorry for ourselves one day.

FRIEDAN: Who's Juanita Broaddrick? I've never heard of her.

FEMALE AUDIENCE MEMBER: You've never heard of her?

FRIEDAN: No.

FEMALE: She's the woman Bill Clinton raped.

BURSTEIN: I don't think that that has ever been proved.

FRIEDAN: He raped her in the White House?

[crosstalk]

CHENEY: I'm going to step in as moderator and ask Christina to comment on whether she thinks Hillary as a feminist has in any way been undermined by her unsympathetic attitude toward the women alleged to have been imposed upon by her husband.

SOMMERS: What I find interesting with Hillary is that she was very much part of a group that supported Anita Hill. She was at the ceremony where Anita Hill received an award, and she's very much on her side. Then when the tables were turned, she completely flipped positions. I thought at the time of Anita Hill that it was impossible to know what went on, and I don't think we know exactly what went on with Juanita Broaddrick. The problem is, both cases were "he said/she said." Although it's important to keep in mind that one involved an alleged rape, while Clarence Thomas was never accused of anything more than some ribald banter and tasteless jokes.

But feminists came down very hard on the side that "women don't lie about these attacks." They insisted that in any sexual harassment lawsuit a woman has the right to investigate a man's entire sexual history. Hillary Clinton supported that view when it seemed like a convenient weapon to be wielded against enemies. And Bill Clinton signed that harassment bill. Then they were hoist on their own petard. What bothered me so much about watching the Paula Jones episode and its sequels is that feminists would sound so different when it was their guy, and their power, on trial.

QUESTION: The First Lady has traveled around the world and received, in many cases, a rapturous reception from women. Do you think by virtue of the model that she presents and the message she's brought that more or fewer women will be clerks in their Supreme Courts? More or fewer will be successful in their lives?

INGRAHAM: I think she's irrelevant. Hillary's message around the world is largely one of scattered clichés and government largesse. She basically wants more U.N. money for more programs, more family planning, and more talk about lifting women up.

I don't see Hillary's *actions* being ones that lift women up out of poverty. What solutions is Hillary Clinton going to give women who want to start a business? Who want to play a sport? Who want to stay married to their husbands and live a happy life? I think she's largely been either a bad influence for women, or had no effect.

SOMMERS: I have admired some of Hillary's work abroad. There are many parts of the world where women have not had their first wave of feminism, and I think she's a very able carrier of basic equity feminism to other parts of the world.

But we don't need a feminist revolution in the United States. Her agenda at home is divisive at a time where we need more unity.

Hillary Clinton is a person who has failed big and in public. And she has managed not to be so horrified as to retreat into silence.

–Karen Burstein

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Hillary Rodham Clinton *and* The Third Way

By David Horowitz

I would argue Hillary Clinton is America's foremost leftist. This is not obvious even to conservatives. My friend Peggy Noonan in her new book, *The Case Against Hillary Clinton*, skewers Mrs. Clinton not for her kitsch Marxism, but for her narcissism. "Never has the admirable been so fully wedded to the appalling," she writes of Hillary and her faithless rooster husband. "Never in modern political history has such tenacity and determination been marshaled to achieve such puny purpose: the mere continuance of Them."

But there are lots of unprincipled narcissists in politics. There has never before, however, been a White House so thoroughly penetrated by the Left as the Clintons' is. If Hillary and Bill Clinton were unable to draw on the Left's faith and support, there would be no prospect of a "continuance of Them."

Ever since I left behind the utopian illusions of the progressive cause myself, I have been struck by how little the rest of the world actually understands the Left. Those who have never been inside the movement are often unable to grasp the ruthlessness and cynicism that lurks behind its idealistic mask.

I was a Marxist in the 1960s, and was involved—as were Hillary Clinton and all progressives of the era—in making excuses for violent radicals like the Black Panthers. We did this then, as progressives still do, in the name of "social justice." This became a powerful license for us. If you felt your mission was to lead the unenlightened to a better world, why would you tell a truth others cannot understand?

The heart of what it means to be on the Left is to see yourself as a social redeemer. This is the most satisfying form of narcissism. That is why Leftists do not care that all their socialist schemes have gone up in flames when actually put into practice, causing more human misery than any of the injustices they launched their crusades against. That is why they never learn from their experience, why the continuance of Them is more important than any truth or progress.

The intoxicating vision of a social redemption is at the heart of the "social gospel" that Hillary Clinton imbibed at the United Methodist Church in Park Ridge, Illinois, then later in the New Left at Yale, and in the Venceremos Brigade in socialist Cuba. It is the idea that drives her lifelong comrades at the Children's Defense Fund, the offices of Legal Services, the National Organization for Women, the Al Sharpton House of Justice, and the other progressive causes that see her as their leader.

For these self-appointed redeemers, "social justice" is not about rectifying particular injustices. That would be too pragmatic and limited a concern. Rather, Hillary and her allies aim to rectify injustice in the very order of things. They aim for a world structured in a boldly new way—a world in which everyone is equally advantaged and without fundamental conflicting desires. This is, of course, a world that could only come into being through a God-like remaking of human nature and society.

Today the Left has been temporarily chastened by its epic defeats, and has adjusted its sights. It now seeks power incrementally, through the democratic process, through the "Third Way," as Bill and Hillary Clinton and their British friend Tony Blair, among others, put it.

But no matter how opportunistically its agendas have been adjusted, no matter how pragmatically its goals have been set, no matter how generous its rhetorical concessions, the progressive Left has not given up its quasi-religious idea of a world transformed. And this transformation requires the saints' permanent entrenchment in power. Therefore, everything is justified that serves to achieve the continuance of Them.

If you read Peggy Noonan's portrait of Hillary Clinton, you can trace the outlines of this worldview. Noonan describes Clinton-era "liberalism" as a creed that, much more than preceding versions,

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is manipulative and deceptive and not really interested in what the people think because, as she puts it, "they might think the wrong thing."

That is why Hillary Clinton's famous health care plan was the work of a cabal that shrouded itself in secrecy to the point of illegality. Noonan calls this "command and control liberalism," a Clinton-era phrase with a totalitarian ring. But like so many conservatives, Noonan is finally too decent to fully comprehend the pathology she is dealing with.

She quotes Richard Nixon that only two kinds of people run for high office in America, "those who want to do big things and those who want to be big people." She identifies both Clintons as "very much, perhaps completely, the latter sort."

Regarding Bill Clinton, Noonan is probably right. I don't think he's a leftist driven by ideas of a socially just world. He is probably better understood as a borderline sociopath, wholly absorbed in the ambitions of self, who has taken on the coloration of his leftist environment and the constituencies on which his political fortunes have come to depend. In my view, Hillary Clinton is different. She reveals an ideological spine that constantly creates political difficulties for her, a sure sign of its existence.

Hillary Clinton craves the power to redeem the world. For her, that noble end justifies all the sordid means.

Noonan implies that if they were principled emissaries of a political cause, the Clintons would seek to do big things for America. Because they do not, "they have made the American political landscape a lower and lesser thing." They have "behaved as though they are justified in using any tactic in pursuit of their goals," including illegalities, deceptions, libels, threats, and "ruining the lives of perceived enemies."

"They believe they are justified in using any means to achieve their ends for a simple and uncomplicated reason," she concludes. "It is that they are superior individuals whose gifts and backgrounds entitle them to leadership." They do it for themselves, for the continuance of Them.

But the fact is, all progressives do this. The missionaries of the redeemed social future, including prominent feminists like Steinem, Ireland, Michelman, and Friedan, all tossed their feminist principles overboard to give Bill Clinton a pass on multiple sexual harassments—because he was their link to power.

Noonan is right that the focus of Hillary Clinton's ambition is not her country. Instead, Hillary is focused on a place that does not exist, but in her mind can be achieved, if only the carriers of its future can gather enough power to make it real. That is why Hillary Clinton and her henchman Sidney Blumenthal call the core of their politics "the Third Way."

The Third Way comes from the lexicon of the Left with a long, dishonorable pedigree. In the 1930s, Nazis used it to characterize their own brand of national socialism as a Third Way between the "internationalist" socialism of the Soviet bloc and the capitalism of the democracies of the West. Trotskyites used the Third Way as a term to distinguish their Marxism from Stalinism and from the capitalist democracies of the West. In the 1960s, New Leftists used the Third Way to define their politics as a socialism situated between the Soviet bloc and the capitalist democracies of the West.

But as the history of Nazism and Trotskyism and the New Left has shown, there is no Third Way. There is the democratic capitalist way, based on private property and individual rights, a way that leads to liberty and universal opportunity, and there is the socialist way of group identities, group rights, relentless growth of the state, restricted liberties, and diminished opportunities. The Third Way is just a suspension between these two destinations. It is not a goal in itself. It is a bad faith attempt to escape the taint that the Left's actual achievements have earned.

Bill Clinton is a narcissist who is willing to sacrifice ideological principle for power because his vision is so filled with himself that he can no longer tell the difference. But those who serve him most loyally—the Harold Ickes, the feminists, the progressives, and, most of all, his wife Hillary Rodham Clinton—*can* tell the difference. They ride along for a very different reason: because they crave power to redeem the world. And for them, that noble end justifies all the sordid means.

First Lady, continued from page 26

seem to lack any shame or concept that they have to deal with their own problems. So their problems become our problems.

And of course, they attack. It's a feature of the narcissistic personality to see all criticisms as coming from enemies, people who are plotting against you. Hillary does have this. She might have said, "Maybe I went a little overboard when I blamed these Monica stories on a vast right-wing conspiracy, because it turns out now there was something to it." Just a little word of recognition that she got carried away would have made a healing impression. Instead, she compares herself to Jesus, who forgave St. Peter.

Part of her problem was that she came on so strong in the beginning. There was this feeling that it was a co-presidency, which we didn't ask for or vote for. And partly it's just her abrasive personality. She's bossy, and a lot of people have trouble with that.

It's a typical Hillary move to run for Senate in a state where she has never lived. Instead of taking her time and preparing the way for a Senate bid, she just charged in.

I question whether it's a move for independence, because these are people who always seem to be having problems and are on the verge of divorce every two or three years, yet they always make up in time for the next election. I see that same cycle occurring here again. Now that Hillary is running, they seem to be getting along a little better. Perhaps this will save the marriage.

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America's Startling New Urban Geography

In 1902, H. G. Wells wrote, "Already for a great number of businesses it is no longer necessary that the office should be in London, and only habit, tradition, and minor consideration keep them there." By the telephone and the post office parcel service "almost all the labor of ordinary shopping can be avoided.... The mistress of the house has all her local tradesmen, all the great London shops, the circulating library, theater box-office, the post-office and cab-rank, the nurse inst. and the doctor within reach of her hand."

Wells was prescient to see a hundred years ago that new technologies would disperse across the landscape the amenities once available only to city dwellers. The United States is decentralizing faster than any other society in history. Fifteen of the largest 25 cities have lost 4 million people since 1965, while the nation's total population has risen by 60 million. But at the same time that the large "vertical cities" have lost population, mid-sized horizontal cities, better adapted to the automobile and better able to offer a quality of life comparable to the suburbs, have grown rapidly.

In the age of horizontal high-tech cities, Austin now has a larger population than Boston, while Denver, once a provincial mining and oil town, has emerged, thanks to the cable industry, as a major metropolis. If Austin is now larger than Boston, that is because the high-tech economy has created more new jobs in Texas over the past two years than in the entire oil and gas extraction industry.

On the conventional map of America leftover from the urban age, the city of Baltimore—home of glorious Camden Yards and the Orioles—looms large in its region. In fact Baltimore is now only the fourth-largest political jurisdiction in Maryland; high-tech Montgomery County on the outskirts of Washington, D.C., has both more jobs and more people. Similarly, San Francisco has become something of a suburb to Silicon Valley. It is now the second-largest city in the Bay Area, with 300,000 fewer people than San Jose and fewer than 50 of the Bay Area's 500 largest public companies. In Northern Virginia, suburban Fairfax County is now home to nearly a million people, and possesess over twice the office space of downtown Boston, Philadelphia, Houston, Denver, Dallas, or Seattle. In fact, it has more office space than all but four of America's cities.

Let's take a look at Philadelphia and its suburbs: The leading industrial center in Pennsylvania is not Pittsburgh or Philadelphia but Montgomery County in suburban Philly. Its 725,000 citizens on the edge of Philadelphia make it more populous than five states, and also give it the highest per-capital income in the state. Its 500,000 jobs (up from 387,000 in 1990) draw in 250,000 commuters daily from as far away as Allentown and Reading—it's like a dispersed center city. Montgomery together with Chester County to its east are now the economic engines of the region. Together they have not only a larger population than Philly but 110,000 more private-sector jobs. Or as William H. Fulton, executive director of the Chester County Planning Commission, puts it, "There's a lot of people out here who don't like to hear that Chester County is a suburb of Philadelphia."

Not only has Philly's western suburban economy surpassed that of its big-city neighbor to the east, but employment in these towns now exceeds the total in major metropolitan areas like New Orleans, Memphis, Buffalo, and Richmond. The western

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By Fred Siegel

Philadelphia suburbs are actually a bigger economy than several states, including Alaska, Delaware, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wyoming. And yet this dispersed collection of towns like Blue Bell, Fort Washington, Plymouth Meeting, the Main Line, Conshohocken, Horsham, Willow Grove, Valley Forge, Jenkintown, King of Prussia, and the Route 202 corridor has no name. Monikers like Silicon Valley Forge, Philacon Valley, Silicon East, and so forth have been thrown out, but not surprisingly in an area that defines itself by dispersal, none of them has stuck.

At the same time, Philadelphia proper, outside of its most central core, has been moving in what might be called a semi-suburban direction. Philadelphia has lost 150,000 people over the past decade, and its leaders, particularly the new mayor John Street, have decided to accept the fact that given the lack of immigration to Philly, it is time to plan for a much-shrunken city. He proposes to take advantage of the city's 31,000 empty lots by razing hundreds of empty factories and thousands of empty row houses in order to clear vast swaths of land for new private-sector developers. They would be encouraged to put up suburban-style homes, office buildings, big-box stores—maybe even movie theaters, golf courses, and environmental sanctuaries. "This is," Street says, "a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. It's the greening of Philadelphia."

This development of a suburb inside a city is already occurring, albeit on a far smaller scale, in one section of Chicago: a landscape of detached houses being built around the Lake Park Pointe shopping center in poverty-stricken Kenwood, near the lake just north of the University of Chicago. Commercially the area is anchored by a huge supermarket, which has already helped raise real-estate values. Meanwhile Chicago is in the process of de-densifying itself by tearing down its public housing high-rises and resheltering the tenants with scatter-site low-rises in a city with plenty of available space—since it has about 1 million fewer people now than it did 30 years ago. Chicago has fewer people but more trees thanks to Mayor Daley, who has been planting them everywhere he can, including on rooftops, as a way of both beautifying the city and reducing summer heat.

Similarly, when Baltimore demolished Lafayette Court, a public housing high-rise, it built air-conditioned two-story houses clustered along cul-de-sacs, just like the suburban dream. Asked why, Mayor Schmoke answered, "People didn't want three-story houses. They wanted two-story houses with modern conveniences—and yards."

Older, sometimes shrinking cities want not only suburban housing; they want the dot.com jobs that first took hold on the periphery, and they're getting them in dozens of places, from the graphic arts districts of Brooklyn to San Francisco's Mission district, where the Yuppie Eradication Project is fighting the rising tide of prosperity by scraping keys on the shiny finish of BMWs owned by the dot.com class enemy.

Mayors across the United States are adapting to this new world in which cities that aren't well managed will have a difficult time competing for the intellectual capital that drives the emerging economy. Mayor Wellington Webb of Denver represents the new model. Under the old model that held sway from the mid-1960s to the early 1990s, urban policy was characterized by what might be called the success of failure. In that mode, the worse a city did, the more it was entitled to ask for from the federal government.

Webb is different. An enormously popular African-American Democrat, Webb speaks in a manner that would have been unthinkable a decade ago. He describes mayors as the "CEOs of our cities" whose task it is to "run our cities like private businesses but with a public mission." He has called on mayors to look to business and the new high-tech economy, not Washington, for municipal sustenance. The key to high tech, he argues, is to create the quality of life that will attract the Dilberts of the world, with parks, recreation facilities, etc. And so Philly is trying to hold on to Wharton grads, while Rochester is discovering it needs more cafés.

Webb argues that these city CEOs "need to bury forever the old image of mayors with a tin cup and an extended palm asking for handouts to sustain and expand cumbersome bureaucracies." Rather than looking to the federal government as the salvation of the cities, Webb, like Mayor Daley before him, sees Washington's unfunded mandates and rigid policies, which often serve to subvert suburban development, as much a hindrance as a help. "Congress," he says, "is like an air force which drops laws on cities without looking at the collateral damage."

How much of the agenda laid out by Mayor Webb will be

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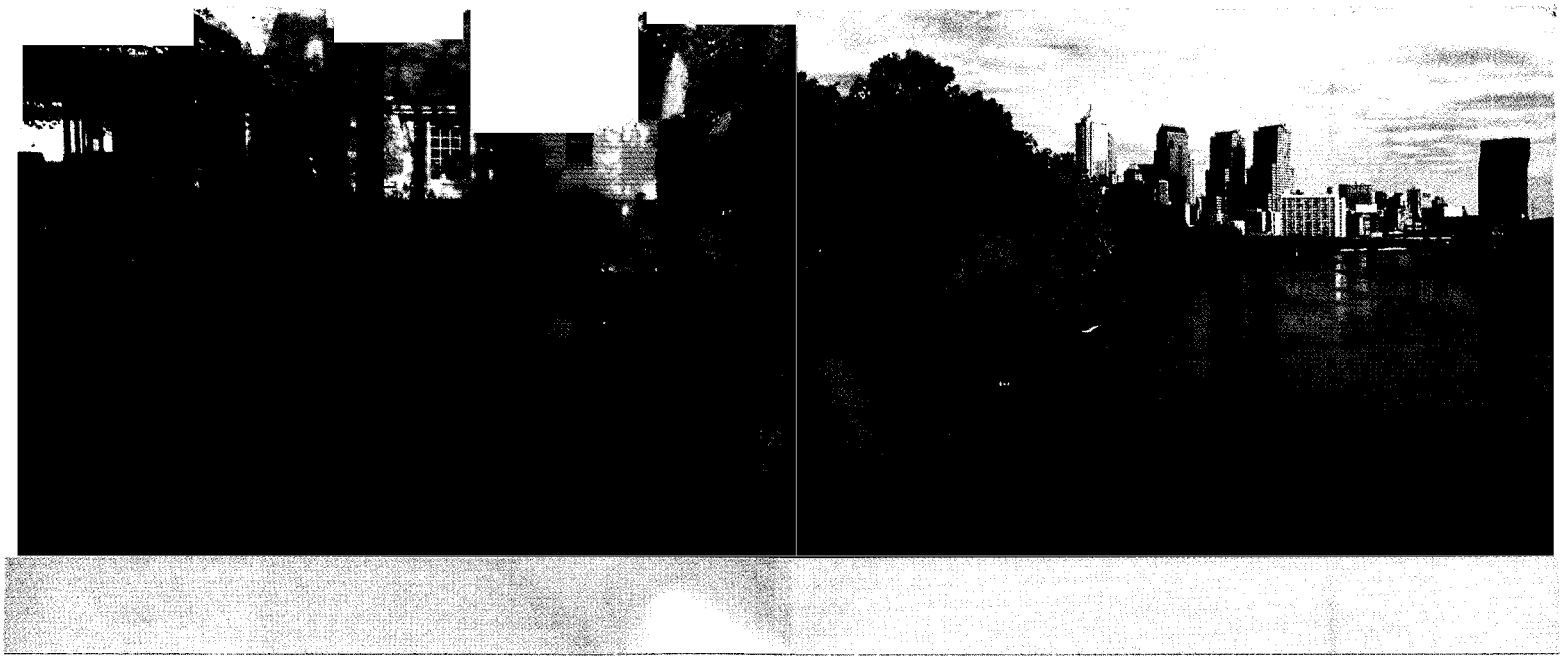

firmly institutionalized? George Musgrove, Oakland's deputy city manager, takes the positive view: "A movement of good government for cities has swept the country, and all good mayors—African-American, white, Latino—are governing that way." Musgrove is on to something; New York's success in reducing crime has forced Baltimore to reconsider how it does business. Baltimore, the favorite playpen for Washington policy people, is the site of every known public or private social program—and yet Sandtown-Winchester, recipient of enormous resources and long touted as an example of successful community development, is now recognized to be a failure: There are no stores to speak of in that crime- and fear-ridden neighborhood. The best social program in poor city districts, in short, is crime control; cities that reduce crime and the fear of crime have experienced a revival of the retail districts essential for vibrant neighborhoods.

But while the fresh outlooks represented by new leaders like Wellington Webb make a return to old-style mayors unlikely, there are reasons to worry about how much further reform will go. The improvements in city governance over the past decade are, as a recent study by Syracuse University's Maxwell School points out, largely a function of strong, effective mayors. What happens if their successes aren't institutionalized, if their successors are not so talented?

That's what was on Rudy Giuliani's mind when he gave his State of the City speech this year. In what may be his valedictory, Giuliani, perhaps the most successful of the reform mayors, warned again and again against allowing the city to slide back into the sad shape it had once been in: "Don't turn it back.... We blocked the genius of America for the poorest people in New York." Time and again, as when he attempted to impose limits on city spending through charter reforms (which were defeated), Giuliani has talked of changing New Yorkers' behavior and culture. Has Giuliani succeeded in doing that? It's doubtful; most of the reforms were imposed on New York by the force of his personality. He leaves no heir, and the wealth generated by the stock market boom provides budget surpluses that less wise leaders will use to feed the public sector at the expense of the private economy.

Giuliani makes no secret of his distaste for his likely successor, former Nader's Raider Mark Green. During the David Dinkins years, when the city administration boosted taxes by a billion dollars a year in the midst of a recession in which the city lost 330,000 jobs, Green sharply raised the fees, fines, and revenues he was collecting from small businesses as Dinkins' consumer affairs commissioner.

But even Mark Green can learn. Though all this should be taken with a large grain of salt, in one recent speech in which he talked about making New York into "Internet City," supply-side-sounding Green supported ending the gross-receipts tax on utilities as a way of helping tech firms. He says that a study done by the Independent Budget Office at his request indicates that such an elimination would produce 7,000 more jobs. He also wants statistics-based accountability—used so successfully by the New York police—applied to other city agencies.

Big cities, rather than being separate cultures, are increasingly home to one phase of life, a place you go when you're young and single and looking to make it in the world. The lines between cities and non-cities are blurring, and the longer our economic boom continues, the more the lines will blur. Exurban populations are recoiling from their exploding growth and increasingly pushing for slower growth and open-space purchases. The effect will be to push new jobs either further out beyond the growth boundaries or, as is increasingly the case, back into the cities where semi-reformed governments, unlike in the 1980s, are now capable of attracting and absorbing growth.

H. G. Wells' prediction is coming true: "The city will diffuse itself until it has taken up considerable areas and many of the characteristics... of what is now country, [and] the country will take to itself many of the qualities of the city. The old antithesis will, indeed, cease."

As the boundaries between older, de-densified cities and the dispersed cities of their surrounding counties blur, there are bound to be bitter fights between those who want the new hybrid areas to remain suburban, and those who want more city-like forms in order to curb sprawl and congestion. The great political question for the future is whether this will re-create the kinds of old centralized governments that ultimately did in traditional cities—the very governments that today's exurbanites fled from.

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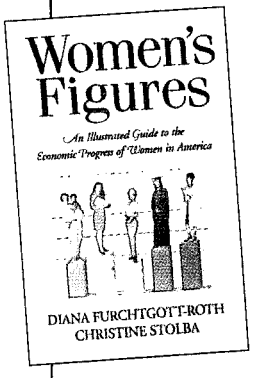

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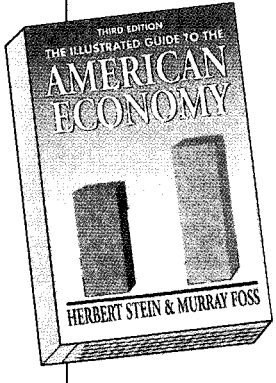

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Meet America's best BUSINESS SCHOOLS

(You'll be surprised)

By Robert Sterling

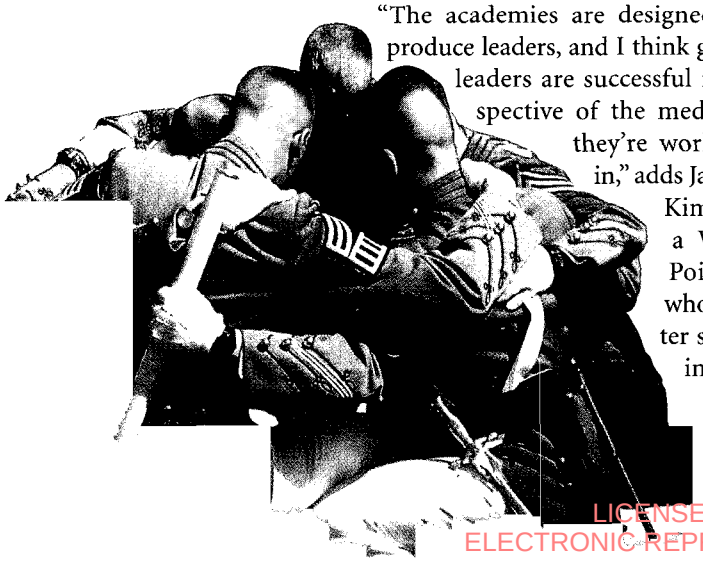
West Point, the Naval Academy, and the U.S. Air Force Academy train young Americans in the business of war. In the process, they turn out many men and women superbly prepared for the war of business.

Indeed, America's military academies may well be the nation's very *best* business schools. Since World War II, our three main service academies have produced 1,531 corporate CEOs, 2,012 corporate presidents, and well over 5,000 vice presidents—not to mention thousands of small-company entrepreneurs.

In the course of their military training, cadets and midshipmen absorb uncompromising lessons in honor, teamwork, and discipline. Later, these lessons help many of them lead businesses toward successful ends. This training cannot be duplicated at most civilian universities or MBA programs.

First and foremost, America's military academies teach their charges how to be a leader—how to take command, execute orders, and make sure that they're carried out. "That's a constant," says Robert Herres, a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy and retired CEO of USAA, a $60 billion insurance company. "You were never outside the environment in which leadership mattered. We marched to class and we marched to every single meal, constantly in the presence of someone exhibiting leadership."

"If you look at the majority of successful people in business, the common feature of most of them is that they get things done, they deliver, they execute," says Pete Dawkins, a West Pointer and Heisman Trophy winner now vice chairman of Citigroup Private Banking. "That's built into the DNA of what you're taught at the military academies."



"The academies are designed to produce leaders, and I think good leaders are successful irrespective of the medium they're working in," adds James Kimsey, a West Pointer who, after serving as an Airborne Ranger in Vietnam, went on to co-found America Online. "You can have a terrific idea, a great plan, and bad leadership, and you'll fail. You can have a bad plan and really good leadership, and still figure out how to make it successful. Leadership is the single most important ingredient in all institutions. If you have bad leaders, the rest doesn't matter."

Plebes at West Point are told to reply "no excuse, sir" when they are called short for their failures. "Once you absorb that," notes Kimsey, "your whole mindset changes. In battle, if you're leading a company up a hill, and that night you have to write letters to all the mothers whose sons got killed that day, for whatever reasons, you realize there is no excuse. If you're a CEO whose company is laying off thousands of workers because you failed to understand how the market changed, you also realize there is no excuse for those people now out of a job."

Cadets and midshipmen are taught to persevere in the face of obstacles and impediments, important skills in business as well. "The Academy training gives you an attitude, and it's the attitude that makes the difference," said Ron Jones, a Naval Academy grad who's now a senior vice president at Veridian, a computer and engineering company. "When I deal with Academy people in the business world, and I am asking for something to be done, I know it's going to get done. I don't hear a lot of, 'Here are my excuses,' but rather, 'I am going to get it done, regardless.' And that's leadership."

But orders have to be understood if they're to be carried out properly, and the service academies excel at teaching cadets and midshipmen to communicate with the rank and file. That's a skill that CEOs need as well.

"All classes you participate in are held to a 12-person maximum," recalled Joe Gudenburr, a West Point grad who's now a vice president of manufacturer BuckBee-Mears. "Every day, you interact with your classmates and with your professors. You have got to communicate from day one as a plebe when you're being hazed. You've got to communicate with your peers to survive."

"The academies naturally foster the ability to get along with your fellow man, primarily because you live so close together," adds James Kinnear, a Naval Academy grad and Korean War veteran who rose to become CEO of Texaco. "You have to be able to relate to senior officers, to peers, and people under you. It's imperative. This is directly transferable to business."

West Point graduate Perry Smith, a former fighter pilot who now heads his own company, notes that "at the academies, you lead 20 or 100 people. You've got to make sure their uniforms and rooms are cleaned up. You have to do that even though you don't have

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much power. They just happen to be undergraduates and you're a senior. Where else can a 21-year-old get this sort of experience?"

The academies also teach their charges the importance of character: honor, ethics, integrity. They are required to be reliable, trustworthy, honest. "We learned at the Academy that the Honor Code had no geographical boundaries or limits," writes Vietnam War hero Gil Dorland in his book *Duty, Honor, Company*. "It applied at all times, whether we were in or out of uniform.... At first it was rather intimidating. One slip-up could mean expulsion."

Corporate rogues may prosper in the short term, but often fail in the long run. "I've seen scumbags who are running companies," said Eric Grubman, a Naval Academy graduate and a partner at Goldman Sachs. "The fact is, honor, ethics, and integrity are key success factors in many areas of the private sector."

In the long run, insists Jim Kimsey, the America Online co-founder, "If you don't have honor, integrity, and ethics, it will be found out and people won't deal with you. Whatever you do in the business environment, your word is most important. You'd better do what you say you're going to do. Once you lose your credibility, your value diminishes dramatically, both through the eyes of the people that work for you and the people you deal with. It's sort of a *sine qua non* of being successful."

Naval Academy graduate Alexander Haig, President Reagan's first Secretary of State and now CEO of his own company, suggests that "the academies are the finest institutions in the world at teaching honor, ethics, integrity, and loyalty. What you learn at a place like West Point will remain with you throughout your business career."

Individuals who have graduated from a service academy and then gone on to business school often find that the academy training was more beneficial. Ron Jones, who attended the Naval Academy and Wharton, contrasts the education he received at each institution: "At Wharton, leadership was a class that we took. At the Academy, leadership was a way of life."

"An MBA does not assure you'll be successful," adds author Dorland, who also has an MBA in addition to West Point. "If you have a military academy background, the primary benefit of an MBA is to teach you the language of business, economics, accounting and marketing. But there is no substitute for rolling up your sleeves and working hard."

Elite business schools themselves hold academy graduates in high regard. Consider the Harvard Business School. In the class of 2001, 37 students have bachelor's degrees from Harvard. In second place for undergraduate training are the service academies, with 24 alums.

The academies teach their graduates to make quick decisions. In combat, squad leaders don't have the luxury of consulting with headquarters. They are forced to make crucial quick decisions on their own. Lives depend on it. With many firms flattening their decisionmaking hierarchies, this has become a valuable skill in business.

"Communication is very poor on the battlefield; so commanders have to react to the situation rapidly on their own with relatively limited information," notes West Point graduate Jerry York, formerly CFO of Chrysler and IBM and now vice-chairman of Tracinda, an investment company. "There's no time for the chain-of-command to issue orders. This is very characteristic of business. Businesses that do this well end up with higher performance."

Kimsey observes this process in the company he helped build. "At AOL, you see battalions of programmers who sit there and communicate with each other. If they had to go through layers of management to make decisions, the company would end up in the brackish backwaters of technology."

With business leadership comes stress. And there is perhaps no more practical way to teach stress management than attending a service academy and serving in the military.

"Business school was just class," said Eric Grubman, Naval Academy graduate. "When you spend four years on a fast-attack sub at the height of the Cold War, and you come out and someone is trying to get you excited because you might get a *B* instead of an *A* in finance class, well, it's very hard to get uptight about that."

Bob Herres, the former USAA chief, still remembers his first day as a plebe. "After they cut off your hair, stick you in a uniform, run you all over the place and start humiliating you, then you go to be sworn in and the guys says, 'O.K., look to your right and look to your left. One of you is not going to make it through.'"

Not every former soldier sees a military background as beneficial for business. Matt Caulfield, an ex-marine who did not attend a military academy, is CEO of Hire Quality, a headhunting firm. He says that employers no longer have much in common with military personnel transitioning into the private sector. He describes an FA-18 pilot who was not hired at a bank despite an impressive résumé. In response to an inquiry, the hiring manager explained that he couldn't comprehend "the fact that someone this talented would spend four or five years flying around in a jet."

"Sometimes at the hiring manager level, military people are seen as from an outer planet. So they don't have the mentorship they had in the past."

Fellow headhunter and West Point graduate Amy Rusiloski, who works for the firm Orion, disagrees with Caulfield. "It's a wonderful market for academy graduates. We get several companies that are specifically looking for academy graduates."

They're looking because they need soldiers for the battlefields of commerce. "The military academies force you to do it all," Alexander Haig observes. "They teach things that civilian schools don't teach. You take a civilian expert out of his water and he'll flounder. Academy graduates tend to be pretty sure-footed on all terrain, be it financial management or building a bridge. The bottom line is that they get things done under any circumstances. What more can you ask?"

Robert Sterling just received his master's in journalism from the University of Missouri.

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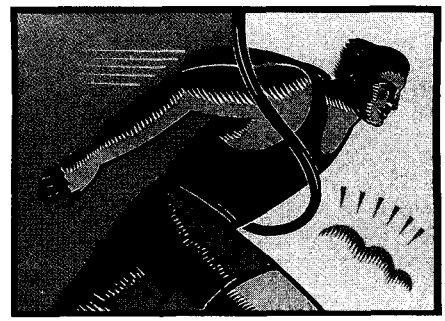
Transcript

WORDS WORTH REPEATING



"TOO MANY KIDS TODAY ARE SOFT"

Condensed from an essay by Jim Vermeulen—an upstate New York teacher and coach—printed in the Syracuse Post-Standard, *2/22/2000.*

As my high school track and cross-country coaching seasons accumulate, so too, unfortunately, do my number of "lost runners."

These are kids who will never know how good they could have been as competitors, because they didn't stick it out long enough or never trained hard enough to realize their potential. Each year, more of them make my long Who-Might-Have-Been list.

Some of them quit running after the first sweltering days of late-summer practices. Others quietly disappeared amid the cold March rains. Some took their leave, amazingly, with only weeks remaining in a winter schedule. Others stuck out a season of running the long miles but never returned the following year.

They said they were injured. They said they were too busy with other commitments. They said they were told by family, doctors, or friends not to punish themselves. They said running was just no fun.

In truth, I've come to believe, most of them just found the sport's demands too stiff. The challenge of "doing something hard" has grown less and less attractive to kids today.

We have taught children the value of ease over effort. Kickin' back, hanging out, and chillin' are now considered purposeful activities. This is a society where parents drive their kids 400 yards to school. Our cultural preoccupation with ease is intense, despite Nike ads to the contrary.

Kids have also been taught to value participation over performance. Once, performing well in a sport was the goal of most athletics, and disciplined practice was the means. Now, for many, *participating* is the ultimate aim.

In track, we say there is a difference between running a race and racing. One requires Woody Allen's directive: just showing up. The other means you have sweated and sacrificed to be in a position to give it your all in a few moments of excellence. What is too often lost today is the invaluable experience of attempting something "in depth," where commitment, discipline, and sacrifice are required.

Some of my lost runners were disappointed to learn that our sport was not all adrenaline rushes and flowing along "free as the wind." They discovered running could be hard—just plain hard—and that it didn't always feel good.

We have twisted the relationship between "feeling good" and performing. Where the gradual acquisition of skills and the mastery of a sport's fundamentals once provided a sense of accomplishment that allowed athletes to feel good about themselves, now we seem to think that athletics must *start* with good feelings.

In this weird reversal, kids must be "having fun" in order to learn a game, and stick with it. A coach's demands or criticisms supposedly destroy an athlete's "interest," or damage his or her fragile "self-esteem," and therefore must be muted.

Too many parents want their kids to excel without any pain or failure. Coaches who demand high levels of discipline and dedication from their athletes are frequently criticized for asking too much. Often, their only defense is a winning program.

Many people believe that today's athletes are superior to any previous, by dint of improved training and better sports technology. You can't, however, make that case with schoolboy runners.

In the sport of running, the clock is coldly objective. In a commentary a couple years ago, Marc Bloom, editor of the cross-country magazine *Harrier*, compared different generations of schoolboy distance runners, and offered these facts:

- Only three high school boys have ever broken 4:00 in the mile. The first was Jim Ryun in 1965. The last was Marty Liquori in 1967.
- Of the 30 fastest boys' two-mile performances, none have come in the last decade.
- Legendary American middle-distance runner Steve Prefontaine ran an 8:41.5 record two-mile in 1969. Only two runners have since exceeded that, both in the 1970s.

Bloom went on to suggest that various social circumstances (family breakdown, mass media enticements, etc.) now compete with, or dilute, young runners' commitments to their sport.

Ed Bowes, cross-country coach at Bishop Loughlin High School in Brooklyn and organizer of the Manhattan Invitational XC Meet, is more blunt. Noting the dwindling number of runners competing at a high level, he says simply: "Too many kids today are soft."

My own experience with lost runners tells me that many kids do not now appreciate what it means to struggle at an endeavor, to put their head down and, with the encouraging support of parents, relatives, and friends, achieve something meaningful.

I'm afraid my lost runners may never learn The Secret. The Secret can never be taught, but only "discovered" by the athlete willing to make sacrifices and take chances. The Secret is this: There is inner pride, quiet joy, and personal victory in any struggle. A corny, old-fashioned concept perhaps, but one that has always produced champions. And not just ones who stand on winners' podiums.

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In Real Life

FIRST-PERSON AMERICA

SOFTBALL AT 60

By Edward Ericson

I know how it happened, but not why. A friend asked me if I'd like to play in a softball league for men age 55 and up.

Why did I submit to an offer that struck me from the start as ridiculous? Didn't I know my other friends would whoop with glee over the incongruity of a lame man nearly 60 returning to the game of his youth?

Having played up to 200 games a year in the long seasons of Southern California, hadn't I already overdosed on softball? Having lost my ability to run two decades ago by so severely breaking a leg once paralyzed by childhood polio that it took six operations and a bone graft to avoid amputation, hadn't I heard the clear celestial command to a sedentary life?

To play softball at all, old men need the rules modified. The legs go first; so this softball is slow pitch and slower running. A hitter need only hobble to first, and then he can get a substitute runner. So a team needs only two guys who can run, if they are placed several spots apart in the batting order.

In our league, much thought has gone into protecting the lower extremities. Attached to first base is a second bag (orange for the visually impaired) so that there will be one base apiece for fielder and runner, and no collisions. In addition, one may overrun any base; brief excursions beyond second into short left-center field are routine. Another anti-collision rule forbids tagging of runners; you must tag the base instead. And at home, a runner is out if he steps on the plate, safe if he crosses a line parallel to it. These inviolable commandments of *Thou Shalt Not Tag* and *Thou Shalt Not Slide* have saved many a brittle joint.

Still, for those who fancy they can run, danger lurks. Short of inventing a speed governor for legs, pulled muscles cannot be avoided. Our team lost its best athlete this way. The result is what might be called survival of the unfittest.

In the field, our teams have not nine (as in baseball), not ten (as in softball), but 11 players. With the four outfielders arrayed like a picket fence not very far beyond the five infield pickets, a newcomer to the batter's box may experience claustrophobia. Not to worry; the fielders approximate statues. A high pop fly that lands ten steps from where a player was positioned will inevitably touch down two steps out of his reach.

Ground balls need not traverse between infielders to get through. Though no rule forbids bending over or even putting one's knee to the ground, the air between a fielder's legs regularly accommodates many a softball. The other night, five straight ground balls by the other team found these gaping passageways between our ankles.

Did I forget to mention "senior moments"? Men who have played ball for more than half a century transgress against the infield-fly rule. Throws go to wrong bases. Pitchers who once backed up bases by instinct now stand stationary on the mound, with either forgetfulness or energy drain the explaining factor. The batter's box sometimes awaits occupation until one player reminds another that it's his turn—*who me?*—to bat.

I've been rooting for zero spectators ever since an emeritated campus colleague spotted me with glove in hand some time ago. "What? Not you!" he nearly shouted. "What do you think you're doing?" I felt as if he had caught me in a red-light district; my small consolation was that he apparently had once thought me a sensible fellow. How could I explain that every time I head out to a game, I feel more dread than exhilaration, and yet that on every drive home I end up replaying my line-drive perfectly placed between third and short, and the low throw I dug out at first— dim shadows of my youthful skills?

My ever-cheery mother once sighed, between dialysis treatments, "Son, it's no fun to grow old." Now I've discovered myself that aging well is hard to do. But somewhere between the ridiculous denial of a senior facelift and the real danger of just giving up on life, old-age softball is perhaps a happy medium. It's not a forceful rejection of nature, merely a gentle resistance against the gathering night. The vain attempts of my teammates and me to fend off mortality with softball is a softly murmured *yes* to the call of Tennyson's Ulysses for old men to join in one final adventure. Its residual nobility repels the euphemisms of "senior citizen" and "golden-ager."

Only after games do I reflect upon the side benefits. Male bonding is a need that does not disappear with age. Cares, duties, fears all vanish from the mind for one absorbing hour. Delicious languor after exertion arrives in the best way—as a bypro-duct, not a direct goal. And I think my teammates would say they were having fun (did I mention we haven't won a game?).

After a few games, my friend asked me if I was enjoying myself. I said I hadn't yet decided. But I think I lied.

Now I'm wondering if I will be asked to play next year. And I wonder what I will say.

Calvin College professor Edward E. Ericson Jr. is a TAE *contributing writer.*

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the Ecological Economist

Can Land Trusts Be Trusted?

By Michael De Alessi

Al Gore has made combatting "urban sprawl" a major part of his presidential campaign, but the debate about preserving open spaces is over a century old. In 1890, conservationist Charles Eliot warned that much of the Massachusetts countryside was in peril. "Several bits of scenery which possess uncommon beauty and unusual refreshing power are in daily danger of destruction," Eliot wrote. One year later, he created a private, voluntary organization called the Trustees of Reservations—the world's first land trust—to protect parcels that were ecologically important, scenic, or historic, by acquiring deeds and then opening the property to the public.

Today land trusts are mushrooming, but they're also changing in form. For one thing, they are much less likely to actually own the land they are trying to protect, opting instead to acquire conservation easements which encumber property with perpetual restrictions on development. Second, many of today's land trusts rely heavily on government. For example, as much as two-thirds of the annual budget of the Nature Conservancy—today's largest and best known trust—has been spent purchasing property to turn over to the government. But today the federal government owns about 30 percent of America's land, while states and localities own around another 10 percent. Given that much of this government land is already badly managed, is more government land ownership really necessary?

The Land Trust Alliance, which supports and monitors smaller land trusts, estimates there are currently over 1,200 land trusts, counting about 1 million people as members and financial supporters. The number of groups is up from just over 100 in the 1960s and about 900 in 1990. Since 1988 the amount of land set aside has more than doubled, from 2 million acres to 4.7 million acres.

The Nature Conservancy, with its $300 million annual budget, claims to protect over 10 million acres of land in North America. Founded in the early 1950s with the motto "conservation through private action" the Conservancy still considers itself "Nature's real estate agent." In recent years, however, the group has moved away from protecting "great places" (individual properties) in favor of preserving "whole functioning ecosystems"—in other words, manipulating public policy.

While many Nature Conservancy preserves are well taken care of, some have suffered from this new approach. The Viña Plains preserve near Chico, California, was created to protect the area's vernal pools and their abundant native wildflowers, many of which are threatened or endangered in California. It so happens, grazing cows in the area eat weeds which would otherwise overwhelm the wildflowers. The Conservancy, however, decided that cows were a nuisance and eliminated grazing on the preserve, ensuring that far fewer flowers grew. Meanwhile, on the private Roney Land and Cattle Company ranch across the road, the endangered flowers thrive.

The Nature Conservancy's new view that private stewardship alone cannot preserve threatened land is now shared by many land trusts. Land Trust Alliance president Jean Hocker suggests the trusts should aim to fill the void left by a "reluctance to regulate private lands or even to add land in public ownership." She notes that "lack of bureaucratic constraint makes land trusts exceedingly good at complementing, supplementing, and implementing public open-space agendas." Thus, land trusts increasingly strive to increase land-use regulation and government ownership of land.

Buying property with the sole intent of turning it over to government agencies is referred to as "pre-acquisition." Sometimes the land is held only for a matter of minutes, and in certain cases trusts have made unseemly profits in the process. According to a report by the Interior Department's inspector general, between 1987 and 1989, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service paid the Nature Conservancy $13.5 million for land in Texas that included $500,000 in undocumented fees. In Oregon, the Bureau of Land Management paid the Trust for Public Land $1 million for a property it acquired for $720,000. While not the norm, incidents such as these have caused land trust critic Tom Holt to charge that "at the state and federal level, land trusts are less about private conservation than about deal making."

Is government land acquisition the best way to preserve open space? Tax relief—particularly elimination of the estate or death tax—might be equally effective. Unfortunately, the only tax reform most land trusts favor is increasing the deductibility of contributions. Trust officials ought to become more enlightened advocates for broader forms of tax relief on land.

Because tax authorities value land at its highest-value use, property owners who are cash-poor often have no choice but to subdivide and/or develop their property simply to pay taxes. Michael Bean of the Environmental Defense Fund has written that the estate tax "en-

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courages the destruction of ecologically important land in private ownership."

Some families try to preserve their property by selling or donating "conservation easements." While allowing the land to remain in private ownership, easements can generate either cash or tax advantages in return for the surrender of development rights. A *New York Times* article last fall described how "with developers in Steamboat, Colorado, paying 20 times the farm value of land, the Fetchers saved the family ranch by donating development rights on 1,300 acres to a land trust. In doing so, they cut future estate taxes in half."

Conservation easements vary widely. Some are set up to maintain scenic vistas, while others simply encourage agriculture in areas that have historically been farmed or ranched. The Colorado Cattleman's Association recently formed a land trust to encourage this latter purpose. The first land trust to focus on agriculture was the Marin Agricultural Land Trust (MALT) in northern California. Since its formation in 1980 by ranchers and environmentalists, MALT has acquired agricultural conservation easements on approximately 20 percent of the privately owned agricultural land in Marin County. In recent years, however, MALT has strained its relationship with local ranchers and farmers by supporting legislation to add much of this private land to the Point Reyes National Seashore in the county.

One problem with conservation easements is that they can't be repealed once they are in place. In California, for instance, the law states that conservation easements may only be created if they are perpetual in duration, and may only be held by non-profits and government. Any attempt to buy back development rights held under a conservation easement would be illegal. The IRS also allows tax reductions only for conservation easements that bind property "forever."

Understandably, both politicians and landowners are wary of establishing rights for land trusts that can never be repealed. In North Dakota, politicians are so worried about the problem of perpetuity that each conservation easement must be individually approved by the governor. Keith Trego, who heads the North Dakota Wetlands Trust, knows that many landowners would be much more amenable to 30- or 50- year arrangements. He is currently trying to get approval from the state for such arrangements.

THE BEST LAND TRUSTS AID CONSERVATION WITHOUT COERCING LAND OWNERS.

Of course, there are many ways other than just easements to improve land management. The Sand County Foundation in Wisconsin, for example, has for decades contracted with neighboring landowners on measures to improve local wildlife management. But such informal deals offer landowners no tax relief.

Some states, however, are changing their tax codes to ease the tax burden on maintaining open space. Texas recently revoked the Nature Conservancy's property tax exemption, then extended tax breaks to everyone in the state who manages his property for wildlife. In California and some other states, property taxes on agricultural land are limited.

The best land trusts aid conservation without coercing land owners. For instance, the Trustees of Reservations in Massachusetts now owns and manages 79 properties throughout the state, totaling more than 20,500 acres. It has also made agreements with 164 landowners to keep 11,423 acres of private land undeveloped. Another example of successful private conservation is the Sand County Foundation in Wisconsin, which manages a 1,500-acre private reserve. Chairman Reed Coleman describes his group's mission as "a sound, voluntary environmentalism that depends on private ownership and stewardship."

While not formally a land trust, another sterling example of private stewardship is the Hawk Mountain Sanctuary. Earlier this century, government bounties on raptors encouraged armies of hunters to ambush migrating hawks from mountain ridges where the birds would ride warm air thermals in highly concentrated numbers. In 1934, conservationist Rosalie Edge purchased an eastern Pennsylvania mountaintop along one of the main migration routes, creating the world's first hawk sanctuary. Today, over 70,000 people visit the mountain annually, each one doing his part to preserve hawk habitat. Mrs. Edge proved one person with a vision and a little money can use voluntary action and private property to do ecological good.

By being far more flexible and sensitive to local interests and ecological tradeoffs than government agencies are, land trusts have filled an important niche. They've demonstrated that private groups can target certain species or habitats and move quickly to protect them for future generations.

These advantages could be compromised if land trusts simply become adjuncts to government land buying, particularly if the trusts collaborate in government coercion of property owners. A property that has been designated for acquisition by a government agency is not worth very much on the market. It becomes easy for a land trust to make an offer on such land that a property owner "can't refuse." Environmental regulations such as Endangered Species Act land use restrictions also contribute to what is now called "greenlining"—the imposition of restrictions on property use that lowers land values and eases acquisition.

It would be short-sighted of land trusts to move in this direction. If all they do is act as government land collectors, land trusts will have abandoned the strengths that private conservation groups have over their government counterparts.

San Francisco resident Michael De Alessi is director of the Competitive Enterprise Institute's Center for Private Conservation.

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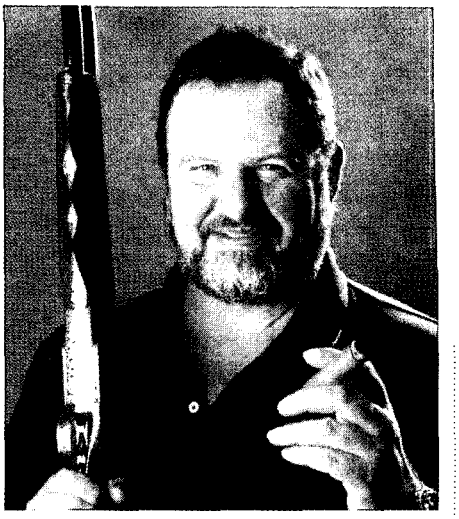
Milius the Moviemaking Maverick



Curtis LeMay isn't what you'd call a hot property in Hollywood.

Studio executives and producers haven't exactly been clamoring to turn the life of the staunch Cold Warrior—who was the youngest major general in the Army during World War II, and ended his public career as George Wallace's running mate in 1968—into their next epic.

But writer and director John Milius has never been one to follow trends. That's one reason why LeMay appeals to him.

Going against the grain is part of the Milius style. In the 1980s, when filmies seemed more troubled by Ronald Reagan describing the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" than by actual Soviet expansionism, dovish propaganda movies like *The Day After* and *Testament* were being churned out by most of the industry. John Milius, however, was busy making *Red Dawn,* a picture about how a Soviet invasion and occupation of the U.S. plays out in the heartland.

That Milius now wants to make LeMay's story should come as no surprise. The themes include Ohio State ROTC vs. East Coast pedigrees; the cutting of wide swathes through the military bureaucracy; turning the Strategic Air Command into a powerhouse; and having the *cojones* to advocate firebombing of North Korea and North Vietnam at the beginning of both wars. "We should stop swatting flies and go after the manure pile," was the LeMay approach.

Milius, 56, decided years ago to try a similar tack in Hollywood. During the 1970s, when the "experts" were arguing that criminals needed to be "understood" because society was to blame for their crimes, Milius put utterly contrary words into the mouth of Clint Eastwood as he cracked heads as police inspector Dirty Harry: "Do you feel lucky? Well, do ya, punk?"

In 1975, Milius made *The Wind and the Lion,* the story of a Teddy Roosevelt-sponsored Marine mission to North Africa—celebrating military heroism at a time when others were arguing there wasn't any such thing. And during the flower power era, Milius wrote *Apocalypse Now* under the inspiration of a Joseph Conrad novel. "George Lucas wanted me to write a Vietnam movie, and he didn't know *Heart of Darkness* from *Mary Poppins.* I was probably the only one among my generation of filmmakers who had read it, because most of those guys don't read," Milius once said.

A long-time supporter of the National Rifle Association, Milius is now on its board. He says Hollywood has increasingly become a factory for mind-numbing violence, the kind that is partly responsible for Columbine.

"It's part of the decay of our society," Milius recently told an industry publication. "The Roman games were similar in that they started as brutal athletic contests where people went to see great skill, then they turned into sadism. That's what's happening to us. The approach to violence in most movies and video games desensitizes children and turns them into heartless killers."

Is this the writer of *Conan the Barbarian, Dillinger, Jeremiah Johnson,* and *Rough Riders* talking? "I make violent films and I'll continue to make them," answers Milius. "But mine have a strict code of morality, as strict as the code of the Samurai. There's a tremendous consequence for any action, good or bad."

Texas Rangers, a picture planned for late summer release, will have Milius's name attached as writer. It's inspired by the true story of the founding of the group whose mission was to restore order and justice to the Texas frontier after the Civil War. One of their first assignments in the movie is to rescue a young Mexican woman from bandits who've killed her husband and taken her hostage just after the couple crosses the border into the U.S.

But it now seems the story that will appear on screen will be very different from what Milius originally wrote. "It was one of my best scripts, and I wasn't willing to sit there and proceed to dismantle it," said Milius, so Miramax re-tooled it for him, saying they needed to appeal to younger audiences.

"Youth today have a sense of rightful entitlement," said Milius. "Their idea of great adventure is diving off bridges with bungee cords. They don't go and do something real—they're all interested in looking good and getting that BMW."

Milius revels in the kind of spirit that once characterized the greatest filmmakers, men who had lived active lives separate from the cultural elites and wanted to tell stories that mattered. "I love the fact that I'm not an intellectual," Milius once said. "I remember on *The Wind and the Lion,* Candy Bergen said, 'I can't believe that just some surfer wrote this.' I said, 'Smile when you say that.'"

—John Meroney

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Flashback

TO KNOW NOTHING OF WHAT HAPPENED BEFORE YOU WERE BORN
IS TO REMAIN EVER A CHILD—*Cicero*

The Blue, The Gray, and Gotham

If the mayor of New York City had had his way in 1861, Jerry Seinfeld, Rudy Giuliani, Al Sharpton, and the Yankees would all be crammed into the "International News" section of your local Gannett paper.

Mayor Fernando Wood was of Welsh-Prussian stock, but his mother was reading a lurid Spanish novel at parturition, thus the exotic name. The enterprising young Fernando sold grog and "segars" with a notable lack of success until his smooth manner and honeyed tongue led him into a political career. Its highlight was three tumultuous terms as Democratic Mayor of New York City.

Wood eventually became rich in the tried and true manners of American statesmen: real-estate speculation and marrying wealth. (His third wife was a 16-year-old heiress.) Tammany Hall's legendary Boss Tweed marveled of his rival, "I never went to get a corner lot, that I didn't find Wood had got in ahead of me."

Wood was equal measures of charm and knavery, principle and deceit. Even a fairly sympathetic biographer, Jerome Mushkat, concedes that Wood "took duplicity to an extreme and made it an integral part of his operations." His most loyal supporters were Irish and German immigrants—yet he was a secret member of the anti-immigrant Know-Nothings. (When his inconsistency was discovered, he calmly swore out an affidavit denying his membership.)

In the dukes-up age of antebellum American politics, Wood's more ardent fans included the Dead Rabbits, a brawling Irish gang that was in philosophical agreement with the mayor's refusal to enforce the statewide prohibition law of 1855.

But for all his picturesque qualities, Fernando Wood was no mere scamp. This rascal had a vision. On January 7, 1861, as the federal union stood at the verge of dissolution, Mayor Wood suggested that New York City go it alone—secede not only from the rest of New York but from the United States themselves.

He was motivated, in part, by antipathy toward the Republicans who ran Albany and were about to take over Washington. The New York state government meddled intolerably in city affairs, even assuming control of the police department. And like many New York merchants, Wood had Southern sympathies: The mayor supported John Breckenridge over Abraham Lincoln in the 1860 presidential election. He averred that "with our aggrieved brethren of the slave states we have friendly relations and a common sympathy."

But Wood's free-city proposal was not simply the pipe dream of a pro-Confederate tobacconist. Wood envisioned New York City as a capitalist oasis, a nineteenth-century Occidental Hong Kong. He wanted New York to be a free port, trading with both North and South, making money, not war. He told the City Council: "As a free city, with but a nominal duty on imports, [New York's] local government could be supported without taxation upon her people. Thus we could be free from taxes, and have cheap goods nearly duty free."

"The South is our best customer," he reasoned, and isn't the customer always right? Why war upon your most lucrative trading partner? A free nation of New York City would enjoy "uninterrupted intercourse with every section." Gunfire, cannonade, and the weeping of bereft wives and mothers might fill the air of the disunited states, but the dominant sound in greater Manhattan would be the cheerful sough of money changing hands.

Archive Photos

Fernando Wood, one-time mayor of New York City, and chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

New York City would serve as a beacon during the dark years of war: "Amid the gloom which the present and prospective condition of things must cast over the country, New York, as a free city, may shed the only light and hope for a future reconstruction of our once blessed confederacy."

Wood was howled down. His only support came from the *New York Daily News*, edited by his brother Benjamin. (Ben was no less colorful than Fernando: he ran lotteries, wrote a pro-secession novel, and helped inspire the city's anti-draft riots.) Horace Greeley's *Tribune* raged, "Fernando Wood evidently wants to be a traitor; it is lack of courage only that makes him content with being a blackguard." Whatever glimmer of hope the free city had was snuffed at Fort Sumter. After that, New York City was in the union, and in the war.

Fernando Wood endured. He became the most respectable of rogues, with a long congressional career culminating in his chairmanship of the House Ways and Means Committee. Chairman Wood was a passionate free-trader, who spent the postbellum years trying to do for his country what he had failed to do for his city: keep open its ports, and do to the dreaded tariff what his Dead Rabbits used to do to the Bowery Boys.

—Bill Kauffman

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Now Playing

Just War Pictures

Sam Emerson

A scene from *Rules of Engagement.*

Much of warfare is noisy and chaotic, but it's often in the still, quiet moments that a soldier's true character is revealed. That's certainly the premise of *Rules of Engagement* and *U-571*, two recent military films that portray the act of defending your country as a moral challenge rather than, as is more customary for Hollywood projects, a moral lapse.

In *Rules of Engagement*, based on an original screenplay by former Secretary of the Navy James Webb, the defining moment of silence comes after a slaughter. Col. Terry Childers (Samuel L. Jackson), a career Marine who has been sent to quell a violent demonstration outside the United States embassy in Yemen, orders his men to open fire on the crowd after three of his Marines are shot down. The barrage of U.S. gunfire leaves 80 Yemeni men, women, and children dead—and the square outside the embassy so quiet you can hear the rustle of the desert wind—and Childers is yanked back to a court martial in America where he is accused of murder.

The rest of the film dissects the soldier's actions against the changing landscape of a nation where, as Childers puts it, much of the population is made up of Starbucks drinkers who've never been shot at. *Rules of Engagement* aligns itself firmly with those men who *have* come under fire. Only they, the film argues, understand the impossible decisions that soldiers face during combat, and the gall that it takes for others to play Monday-morning quarterback while safely ensconced in the national sanctuary created through many soldierly sacrifices.

Rules of Engagement also admires the military concept of loyalty. For his defense, Childers doesn't turn to one of the Marines' slick law-school graduates, but to a grizzled veteran (Tommy Lee Jones) who served with him in Vietnam. His comrade in arms may not be the best lawyer in the service, but he has something that Childers is finding to be in short supply these days: a trustworthiness born in battle.

The film doesn't blindly exonerate Childers (the best thing about Jackson's performance is the way he implicates himself partly as a victim of his own rage). But if things do get tied up a bit too neatly at the end, it's worth noting that workaday studio meddling in favor of happy endings—and not patriotic propaganda, as some critics have suggested—was behind those decisions. Webb, who received an executive producer and story credit after battling the filmmakers over changes made to his original script, says his version was far more ambiguous than what ended up on the screen.

Things are even more cut and dried in *U-571*—a gripping World War II submarine thriller featuring German sailors so blandly villainous that they may as well have twirling mustaches. Still, the movie effectively forces viewers to grapple with the awesome responsibility that comes with military leadership.

The leader in question is Lt. Andrew Tyler (Matthew McConaughey), an executive officer who takes over a special mission after his ship's captain dies in a German attack. It doesn't take long for Tyler to learn that leading men into battle means the possibility of having to choose which ones to sacrifice for the larger good; one of his first decisions is to abandon some U.S. sailors so that his submarine—and the men and top-secret cargo aboard—can escape an approaching German destroyer.

Loyalty comes into play in *U-571* as well. As their situation grows darker, some of Tyler's men begin to weigh the importance of the mission against saving their own lives. Just as wills begin to fade, Harvey Keitel's Chief Klough—a weathered veteran of World War I—whips the boys back into shape. If the Navy says it's more important than you and me, he tells a wavering sailor, our responsibility is clear.

Almost every one of *U-571*'s claustrophobically intense action sequences is anchored by a nagging moral question, none more so than the climax, in which Tyler orders a young ensign to make a suicidal dive into a flooded bilge tank to fix a debilitating air leak (the diminutive ensign is the only one who can squeeze past pipes to reach the leak). Powerful scenes such as that shout: What would you do? The burden of making life-and-death decisions in a split second is a truly terrible one, and you can see that weight playing across Tyler's face whenever a German depth charge has been dropped above his submarine and silence spreads, waiting for the inevitable blast. It's in these still moments that military men such as Terry Childers and Andrew Tyler navigate the fine line between becoming a murderer and being a hero.

—Josh Larsen

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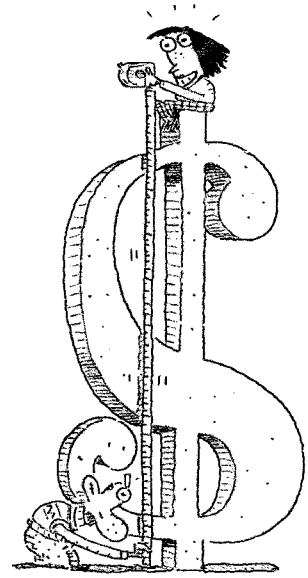
the Digest



SUMMARIES OF IMPORTANT NEW RESEARCH FROM THE NATION'S UNIVERSITIES, THINK TANKS, AND INVESTIGATIVE PUBLICATIONS

POLITICS

Campaign Finance Rights and Wrongs

George L. Priest, *Buying Democracy: A New Look at Campaign Finance 'Reform.'* Bradley Lecture, delivered at the American Enterprise Institute March 6, 2000.

Priest, of Yale Law School, believes the debate over campaign finance reform "has come to a dead end" because debaters rely on two antiquated models that don't accurately grasp money's role in politics.

The first model, in the "reform" tradition, holds that campaign contributions sway politicians to do the donor's bidding. But, Priest counters, no matter how low contribution limits are set, all voters will never be treated equally by their elected representatives: Politicians will still favor some voters over others for non-financial reasons.

The other side of the debate claims the current cap of $1,000 violates the First Amendment's protection of free speech. But, instead of thinking of campaign donations as speech, Priest says we should look at elections using a market analogy. Success in a marketplace depends on the intensity of demand for products. The $1,000 limit, unchanged since 1976, ensures the level of passion someone can have for a candidate cannot exceed the passion one may feel for "four good tickets to the New York Knicks or two round-trip airfares to Colorado."

Priest also defends "soft money" contributions, which are much criticized because they're unrestricted donations to a political party: "A soft money contribution allows a citizen to express support for political principles of greater generality than reflected in any single politician's views. It also allows the citizen to delegate to political professionals determination of how the money most effectively can be spent, much like a contribution to the United Way."

Priest thinks reformers worried that money corrupts politicians should work on reducing big government. "The most effective way to limit corruption is to constrain the ways politicians can reward their contributors."

Congress in Charge?

John J. Pitney Jr., "The Coming Ascent of Congress," in *Policy Review* (April-May 2000), Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Avenue N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

Pitney, a political scientist at Claremont McKenna College, suggests Congress, not the President, will dominate national politics in the twenty-first century. He argues that for most of the nineteenth century, excluding the Civil War, Congress was in charge, even with strong-minded Presidents such as Grover Cleveland (who cast 414 vetoes in his first term).

In 1912, Woodrow Wilson's presidency began an increase of executive power which accelerated after 1945, when the President, commanding America's nuclear arsenal, held the fate of the world in his hands. Presidents from Truman to Reagan often used their control of foreign policy to dominate the nation's political agenda.

Presidential dominance receded after the Cold War. Bill Clinton failed to win congressional approval of a nuclear test ban treaty in 1999. Nor has Clinton won "fast-track" authority to implement free-trade agreements.

Though Clinton survived his impeachment, Pitney argues the affair weakened the presidency by making it easier for future Congresses to launch impeachment inquiries. As for the budget, surpluses ensure Congress will be more likely to ignore administration budget requests and load the budget with pork.

"For most of the nineteenth century, Congress dominated the federal government," Pitney concludes. "For most of the twentieth century, the initiative passed to the White House. As the twenty-first century begins, the balance is shifting back."

ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS

Crippled by the ADA

Thomas DeLiere, "The Unintended Consequences of the Americans with Disabilities Act," in *Regulation* (No. 1, 2000), Cato Institute, 1000 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001.

The goal of 1992's Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) was to remove barriers preventing the disabled from entering the labor force. DeLiere, a Uni-

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versity of Chicago public policy professor, says one unintended consequence is that employers are increasingly reluctant to hire the handicapped.

DeLiere analyzed the Survey of Income and Program Participation, a federally funded employment database. According to the data, between 1990 and '95, the proportion of disabled men who were employed fell from 59.8 percent to 48.9 percent. (By contrast, the employment rate of non-disabled men declined only slightly from 95.5 percent to 92.4 percent.) Disabled high school dropouts and men with mental disabilities found it particularly tough to get work.

Why is the ADA a deterrent to hiring? DeLiere cites a section of the ADA calling for employers to provide "reasonable accommodation" to the disabled. This section is often cited by employees who sue under the ADA when fired. Although 86 percent of the 108,939 ADA discrimination cases filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in 1998 were dismissed, in the remaining 14 percent, the EEOC fined employers an average of $14,325. In addition, employers are stuck with big legal bills. "Firms may have responded to the prospect of litigation," DeLiere contends, "by reducing their hiring of the disabled."

DeLiere proposes tax credits as a better way to help the disabled. He suggests establishing a Disabled Workers Tax Credit, which would reduce the tax bills of both disabled workers and those who hire them. Although it "would be yet another government program, it is likely to be both cheaper and more effective than forcing the hiring of disabled workers through the employment mandates of ADA."

SOCIETY

The Price of Work

Lawrence M. Mead, "The Twilight of Liberal Welfare Reform," in *The Public Interest* (Spring 2000), 1112 16th Street N.W. #530, Washington, D.C. 20036.

New York University political scientist Mead shows the latest results of "left-of-center social planning": the New Hope experiment in Milwaukee. Conducted from 1994-98, New Hope offered adult residents with incomes of up to 150 percent of the poverty line the following: In return for working at least 30 hours a week in a private or government job, participants would be guaranteed poverty-line incomes plus generous child and health care programs. Although New Hope's planners expected 12,000 Milwaukeeans would apply, only 1,312 did. Half were offered New Hope subsidies and the remaining half were put in a control group.

Many of the programs went unused by participants. In two years, 78 percent of New Hope clients received subsidized wages for at least one month, 48 percent signed up for the health care plan, and 28 percent used child care programs. The people least likely to use New Hope's assistance were the chronically unemployed, whom Mead believes "are not so much oppressed as detached" from the labor force.

After spending about $15 million, New Hope's designers found the program slightly increased labor force participation: Clients worked on average 17 out of 24 months, compared to 16 out of 24 months for the control group. When health insurance and child care subsidies were counted, participants earned an average of $1,718 more over two years than the control group. But New Hope did little to reduce either food stamp use or welfare benefits.

Mead says New Hope wasn't more successful for several reasons: In surveys of the unemployed conducted by New Hope, the biggest single reason keeping them out of the job market, cited by 37 percent, was "a lack of skills or experience." Another 15 percent said they didn't have a job because they just didn't want to work.

New Hope, Mead concludes, offers a lesson. The poor aren't necessarily eager to advance themselves. When the New Hope program began, Milwaukee and its suburbs had 32,000 full- or part-time job openings—and only 25,000 unemployed people.

Social workers should teach the poor that work is better than indolence, Mead writes. The goal of the welfare state should no longer be "to protect workers from the evils of capitalism," but to make workers out of the chronic poor.

Victims Deserve Equal Time

Paul G. Cassell, "Barbarians at the Gates? A Reply to Critics of the Victims' Rights Amendment," in *Utah Law Review* (No. 2, 1999), University of Utah College of Law, 332 South 1400 East Front #101, Salt Lake City, Utah 84112.

Congress recently debated a "Victims' Rights" Amendment to the Constitution which would secure the rights of the victims of violent crime to attend trials and to testify during bail, plea bargaining, and sentencing sessions. Victims would also be informed of the progress of a trial as well as when a perpetrator is to be released. The Victims' Rights Amendment has been endorsed by President Clinton, the National Governors' Association, and Republican senators such as Jesse Helms, Phil Gramm, and Trent Lott. According to *Congressional Quarterly*, the proposed amendment is likely to pass Congress and be sent to the states.

University of Utah law professor Cassell defends the amendment from several criticisms:

Defendants won't receive a fair trial. The amendment gives victims no additional rights to testify *during* trials. It only affects the segment of a trial when bail is being set or a sentence is being delivered. During sentencing, defendants routinely call character witnesses; why shouldn't victims have equal time? And how can a judge or jury fairly determine what punishment to give a murderer without "hearing testimony from the surviving family members?"

States already give victims rights. Most states have some sort of victims' rights law. But many of the laws are weak and ineffective. A 1998 survey from the National Institute of Justice reports that in states identified as providing "strong protection" to victims, only 60 percent of victims were told when a sentencing hearing was taking place, and just 40 percent were told when a defendant was set free on bail.

Victims' rights aren't worthy of a constitutional amendment. Legal commentator Bruce Fein says the Victims' Rights Amendment would "trivialize" the Constitution. But for the past 150 years

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most of the amendments to the Constitution have given citizens additional rights: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments empowered former slaves, the Seventeenth Amendment gave all Americans the right to elect senators, the Nineteenth and Twenty-Sixth Amendments gave women and 18- to 20-year olds the right to vote. The Victims' Rights Amendment, Cassell writes, continues this "venerable tradition."

Courts often treat "victims as second-class citizens," Cassell argues. With a Victims' Rights Amendment, they would acquire "their rightful place in our nation's criminal justice system."

SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT

Malthus Was Wrong

Ronald Bailey, "The Law of Increasing Returns," in *The National Interest* (Spring 2000), 1112 16th Street N.W. #540, Washington, D.C. 20036.

In *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798), Thomas Malthus predicted that, under "the law of diminishing returns," the world's population would increase so quickly there would be a "gigantic, inevitable famine" which in "one mighty blow, levels the population." Ever since, Malthusians have foreseen an "inevitable" global famine that has never happened. Why was Malthus wrong? Bailey, a science writer for *Reason*, finds the answer in economic theory.

Until the 1970s, most economists believed in "neoclassical" theory, which held that economic growth took place by increasing the amount of labor and capital so that more goods would be made. Under this model, a point would inevitably come where the marginal value of the goods produced equaled all the labor and the capital in the world, ensuring a global depression. Thus in 1972, the Club of Rome used neoclassical premises to conclude that by 2075 there would be "a rather sudden and uncontrollable decline in both population and industrial capacity."

Economist Paul Romer, however, achieved a "conceptual breakthrough" by discovering that economic growth depended not just on labor and capital, but on *ideas*. "Economic growth arises from the discovery of new recipes and the transformation of things from low to high value configurations," Romer writes.

Romer's innovation (known as New Growth Theory) shows that entrepreneurs are constantly coming up with new products, which in turn increase global economic productivity. Entrepreneurs discover how to use resources more efficiently, ensuring that a Malthusian catastrophe won't happen. "We constantly fail to grasp how many ideas remain to be discovered," Romer writes. "The difficulty is the same one we have with compounding. Possibilities do not add up. They multiply."

"We cannot deplete the supply of ideas, designs, and recipes," Bailey concludes. As long as inventors are free to create new products and processes, the possibility of a Malthusian catastrophe is extremely remote.

Uncle Sam's Drain and Pave

Troubled Waters: Congress, the Corps of Engineers, and Wasteful Water Projects. National Wildlife Federation/Taxpayers for Common Sense, 651 Pennsylvania Avenue S.E., Washington D.C. 20003.

Over the past two centuries, the Corps of Engineers has built over 500 dams, 11,000 miles of navigation channels, and 8,500 miles of levees and floodwalls. But now, according to a team of eight researchers from the National Wildlife Federation and Taxpayers for Common Sense, the Corps is busily creating projects that are environmentally destructive and waste tax dollars.

Often the Corps will launch a project to favor one or two businesses over many others. On the Delaware River, the Corps proposes spending $311 million to increase the navigation channel from 40 to 45 feet to allow large oil tankers to dock on the river's oil refineries. The project would dredge 33 million tons of silt loaded with PCBs, mercury, and lead at various sites along the river's edge, including one next to the Bombay Hook National Wildlife Refuge. But many oil refiners have stated that the current practice of transferring oil to smaller ships is acceptable, and a conference convened by the Philadelphia Port Authority concluded that even if the Delaware River were deepened, there is "no guarantee that container ships would ever call here." Without the oil refiners' participation, the Delaware River deepening will return 23¢ in benefits for every dollar the Corps spends.

In the Oregon Inlet on the North Carolina Outer Banks, the Corps wants to spend $108 million to construct two jetties (one two miles long) to allow 215 commercial and charter fishing boats to enter and leave the inlet. As early as 1979, a team of Department of the Interior researchers concluded the jetties would damage other beaches on the Outer Banks. In 1988, the Office of Management and Budget concluded that the jetties flunked a cost-benefit test. If the jetties are ever built, the project will "amount to a federal subsidy of $500,000 per charter or commercial fishing boat."

A law passed in 1986 requires the Corps to stop work on any project if construction hasn't started within ten years after the initial proposal. But members of Congress frequently evade this law by channeling funding into Corps projects in their districts. As a result, the Corps currently has $27 billion in construction projects on its agenda, and most of these are "unconstructed and unjustified."

Congress, the authors conclude, should require independent researchers to conduct impartial analyses of Corps projects—and reject those that fail cost-benefit tests. In addition, Congress can force states and localities to pay their fair share of Corps projects. A University of Pennsylvania study found that Corps projects were reduced by 35 percent when localities were required to pay part of the costs.

Eliminating just the 25 dubious Corps projects examined in *Troubled Waters* would "save the federal taxpayer more than $6 billion in coming years and prevent the destruction of irreplaceable wildlife habitat."

We welcome submissions of reports, articles, or papers you think should be summarized in The Digest. Please send to P.O. Box 8093, Silver Spring, Maryland 20907.

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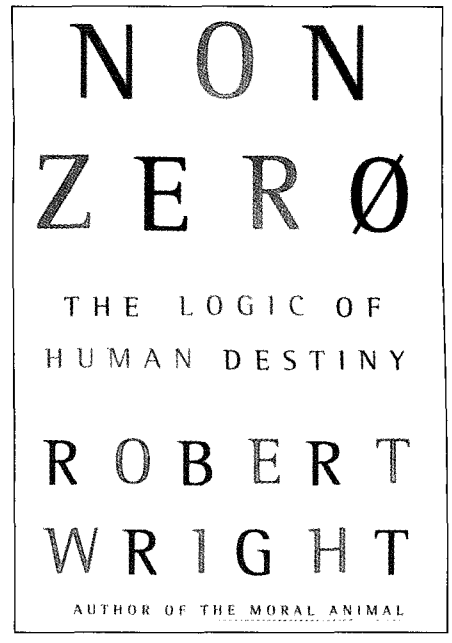
BookTalk



THE BIG PICTURE

By Kevin Hassett

Nonzero: The Logic of Human Destiny
By Robert Wright
Pantheon, 435 pages, $27.50

Academics tend to focus on quite mundane questions—if government taxes shoelaces, do people buy more loafers?—because they are simple enough to be answered. In his remarkable new book, *Nonzero: The Logic of Human Destiny*, Robert Wright takes the opposite approach and asks perhaps the biggest of all questions, "Is there a discernible direction to human history?" The result is a book as stimulating and frustrating as the best 2 a.m. dorm-room philosophy session, a book anyone who likes to think should read.

Wright deserves a medal for attempting the book, because it is now (believe it or not) politically incorrect to discuss the possibility of a direction to history. At one time, it was thought natural for historians and anthropologists to document "progress," and human history was viewed as a gradual evolution of men from "savages" to "barbarians" to "civilized." Looking at those labels, it's easy to figure out what happened. Scholars on the left objected to a view of progress that implied "value judgment," and classification of civilizations became taboo.

But Wright is willing to break that taboo, and when he does, a treasure trove of interesting questions emerges. Why is it that humans began to organize? Why did some humans settle into villages? Which villages became nations, and why?

For answers, Wright looks to modern game theory. This is less farfetched than it seems at first. Game theorists divide games into two types, "zero-sum" games and "nonzero-sum" games. A zero-sum game—dividing a pie is the classic example—involves distributing a fixed amount of stuff between two contestants. A nonzero-sum game is one in which the actions of the contestants determine the size of the total payoff, as well as the share that each receives.

Wright argues that these two categories can be applied to many human interactions, and that throughout the course of history the benefits of nonzero-sum interactions have been so profound that cultures obsessed with dividing fixed pies (like the Huns, perhaps) became insignificant. Wright even implies a way of measuring cultural development: A civilization is more advanced the greater the extent of organized nonzero-sum activity it allows.

Mark Twain described the Shoshone Indians as the "wretchedest type of mankind I have ever seen." They were a people with no villages or organized communities whatsoever. And yet Wright documents that they did have one nonzero-sum activity. The Shoshone would occasionally gather from far and wide for rabbit hunts, where one group would scare up the animals while another captured them with a net more than 100 feet long. A hunt boss, an early precursor to a chief, would organize the troops.

But that was their only such collective activity. The rest of the time, the Shoshone were loners and had no use for social organization. Why did their cultural evolution stop there?

Why did other people who started out equally primitive eventually develop cities as complex as Paris? Wright argues that accidents of geography played a huge part in the beginning. Fertile river valleys and ports allowed some peoples to live in concentrated villages, and as they collected together, and traded, the benefits of cooperative interactions became an accelerating force for improvement.

Now comes the fun part. If you accept Wright's view that history has an arrow pointing upward toward increased connectedness and cooperation, then one can pull out a crystal ball and anticipate what might happen if we continue on such a path for several more centuries. Is a happy, cooperating global village—a kind of heaven on earth maximized by a massive World Wide Web—inevitable, as Wright thinks it is?

His book ends with surprising speculations on whether the apparent direction of history implies the existence of an all-powerful director. Wright seems to think that it does, but is not quite willing to say the G-word out loud. That was my one frustration with the book: The author has a tendency to conceal what he thinks on certain points. This might reflect a kind of shyness, or perhaps a desire to let the reader look at the wealth of evidence gathered and then decide for himself.

Unlike economic analyses on taxes and shoelaces, Wright doesn't decisively prove anything in the end. But his evidence is, shall we say, very suggestive.

American Enterprise Institute resident scholar Kevin Hassett is a TAE *contributing writer.*

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CHICAGO'S OTHER MIKE

By Jesse Walker

The World of Mike Royko
By Doug Moe
University of Wisconsin Press, 128 pages, $29.95

Mike Royko's immigrant father held a number of jobs before opening a tavern. After his parents divorced, his mother opened a watering hole, too. Young Mike would work as a bartender at both parents' bars.

The Roykos lived in a little Polish neighborhood-state, part of the larger ethnic confederation that was Chicago in the first half of the century. In those days, Mike later wrote, "You could always tell, even with your eyes closed, which state you were in by the odors of the food stores and the open kitchen windows, the sound of the foreign or familiar language, and by whether a stranger hit you in the head with a rock."

To judge from Doug Moe's coffee-table biography, *The World of Mike Royko*, the young Royko was both smart and easily bored: He excelled in school early on but then started playing hooky, finally dropping out at age 16. (He eventually earned his diploma at the downtown YMCA. "This," Moe writes, "was Royko's kind of school—you could smoke in the halls.")

After serving in Korea, Mike lied his way into a job editing a weekly newspaper on his Air Force base. He took to journalism, worked in a series of newsrooms, and in 1963 launched a local column for the *Chicago Daily News*. It quickly became popular, and Royko was soon writing it every weekday.

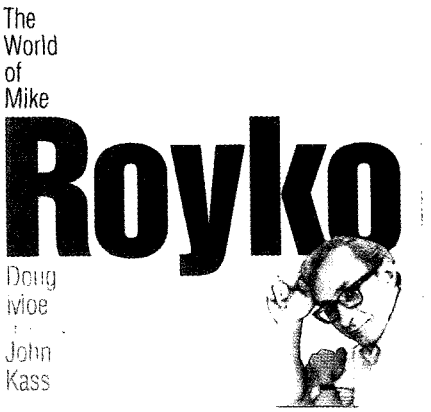
Through his columns, Royko constructed a lively persona. The public Royko was a hard-drinking, streetwise, populist wiseguy—the newsman who knew his way around his city, stuck up for the little guy, and poked fun at the powerful. Anyone who reads a city newspaper knows the type, thanks to the imitators Royko spawned.

What separated Royko from the rest—and made him, at his peak, the country's best newspaper columnist—was knowledge (he really *did* know his way around his city) and craftsmanship. The staccato rhythm of a newspaper story, where few paragraphs last longer than a sentence or two, doesn't leave much room for complex, delicate prose. Usually, when a columnist tries to overcome this and sound "writerly," he instead sounds overwrought, pretentious, or maudlin. But Royko wrote with a tough grace that fit a newspaper page, showing cleverness without writing overly clever sentences. That's a lot harder than it sounds, especially if you have to do it five times a week.

What's more, Royko had range. He could be angry, whimsical, or wistful, as his stories demanded. He could step outside the news columns altogether: His 1971 book *Boss*, a study of Chicago's notorious Mayor Richard J. Daley, is a minor classic. He could even be funny, a condition many columnists aspire to and few attain. He was the first columnist I read regularly, starting somewhere around age 10. Not everything he wrote about made sense to me, given that he lived in a big Midwestern city and I lived in North Carolina. (For a long time, with nothing but Royko columns to guide me, I assumed the term "alderman" described some sort of petty crook.) But he had a strong point of view that I liked, and he had a distinctive voice.

The trouble with Moe's biography is that it sometimes feels more like the story of that voice than the story of the man behind it. We get the simple details of Royko's life: his childhood, his two marriages, his three-decade reign as Chicago's leading columnist. (After the Daily News folded in 1978, Royko moved to the *Sun-Times*, and still later to the *Tribune*.) We read funny anecdotes and we read quotes from Royko's writing. But the book is one long encomium—not a study of Royko, but a tribute to him.

That's fine as far as it goes, and it may be too soon after Royko's 1997 death to get any real perspective on the man. But sometimes it's a little too easy to see where Moe decided to walk lightly. He mentions, for example, the attacks Royko received in the '90s, some (mostly undeserved) for alleged bigotry, and some (more justified) for simply running low on steam. But Moe passes over this quickly, sometimes failing even to explain the charges. Royko deserves a vigorous defense against his latter-day



detractors, but he also deserves a defender willing to give those detractors a hearing.

The best tribute to Royko is the man's own work. Start with *Boss*, or *One More Time*, the most wide-ranging collection of his columns. Then progress, if the spirit moves you, to Moe's book. Royko's fans should like it, until a full-fledged biography comes along.

Jesse Walker is an associate editor of Reason.

HOW GREEN WAS THEIR VALLEY?

By Paul Gottfried

The New Agrarian Mind: The Movement Toward Decentralist Thought in Twentieth-century America
By Allan Carlson
Transaction Publishers, 218 pages, $29.95

Allan Carlson's work jars long-settled opinions. Much unconventional information can be extracted from his latest book, *The New Agrarian Mind*, a scrupulous study of American agrarian decentralists from the first half of the century.

Not all of these presumed traditionalists fit a preconceived image. Some, like Herbert Agar, Allen Tate, and Luigi Ligutti (the Italian priest who immigrated to Iowa and may be the most engaging of Carlson's subjects) show strong anti-modernist, communitarian strains. Other New Agrarians look like men of the Left. Liberty Hyde Bailey, Ralph Borsodi, and Louis Bromfield, for instance, combined outspoken religious skepticism and faith in technology with eager acceptance of government social planning.

To my surprise, I discovered that Ohio

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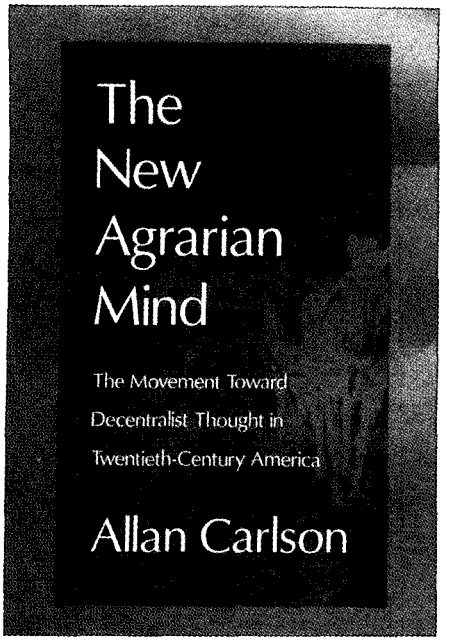

novelist Bromfield, who is often described as a neo-Jeffersonian decentralist, and whom Senator Robert Taft, "Mr. Republican," came to value as a friend, was a communist sympathizer well into his later years. He and his fellow Midwestern advocate of rural virtue, Henry Wallace of the Progressive Party, were smitten for a time over Stalin's collective farms, which they imagined to be productive centers of postreligious rural fellowship. Only in the last decade of his life, when he returned to Ohio as a gentleman farmer, did Bromfield grow wary of government planning.

Carlson demonstrates that many of the Southern Agrarians were also unexpectedly open to social engineering. The appeal by the young John Crowe Ransom and other contributors to the agrarian manifesto *I'll Take My Stand,* that the government adopt far-reaching economic policies to maintain their preferred way of life, may surprise some readers. I suspect Carlson expected at the outset of his project to find more consistently appealing subjects. What he has uncovered, however, may be more valuable than the imagined antecedents of a rural American conservatism.

Carlson makes clear the overshadowing importance of "scientific" administration for most of his subjects, despite their ultimately anti-modernist vision. Ironically, those who organized to promote decentralized rule and a return to rural, household economies were often very open to government fiat. Many believed, like our own Beltway conservatives, that they could capture public administration for their purposes.

One point open to discussion is Carlson's judgment about the religious opinions of some New Agrarians. The anti-religious views of men like Liberty Hyde Bailey—who proposed to re-educate farmers in order to save them from "peasant superstitions" (a.k.a. Christian doctrines)—would seem to make them implausible advocates for traditional rural life. Conversely, the German Anabaptists whom Carlson extols for their "withdrawal" from secular, urban society, have not resisted the spirit of the age entirely. The Old Order Amish now furnish at least half of the construction workers putting up development houses in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, while the Mennonites rush to sell their ancestral holdings to real estate developers.

The New Agrarians did briefly help launch a populist movement. In the 1930s, American decentralists rallied around *Free America*, a magazine that drew prominent intellectuals from both ends of the political spectrum. Rejecting a centralized industrial state and its control of citizens, contributors to *Free America* outlined alternate forms of political community that ranged from hierarchical neo-medieval ones to decentralized, egalitarian varieties.

This collaborative project came apart by 1947, Carlson shows, because of disagreements over intervention in World War II and other fissures. Those on the right, like Catholic agrarians Allen Tate and Chauncey Stillman, were philosophically light years apart from leftist decentralists like Lewis Mumford. *Free America* founder Herbert Agar shifted leftward after becoming an outspoken pro-British interventionist in 1940.

Though the critics of "industrial socialism" could agree for a while about enemies, this by itself did not suffice to produce a long-term movement. This failure to hang together among an earlier generation of populist intellectuals (if you will pardon the oxymoron) may contain lessons for today's anti-establishment Right.

Paul Gottfried's latest book is After Liberalism.

Bird's Eye, *continued from page 6*

(And after Jimmy Carter lost his re-election bid, there were reports of wholesale document shredding at Hillary's Legal Services Corporation. "When we arrived at the first of the year the files were gone," says William Harvey, the former Indiana University Law School dean who took over for Mrs. Clinton as chairman of the board of directors. "The corporate files were just taken.")

In patterns recurring across four consecutive decades, Mrs. Clinton has demonstrated an ardent attraction to foolish utopianisms of various sorts. This combined with her pronounced taste for government controls, and her overdeveloped confidence in her ability to remake humanity, yield a troubling record. Since becoming a Senate candidate, Mrs. Clinton has been utterly silent on these sorts of ambitions. She now says she's interested only in listening, and partnerships, and choices. But given her repeated history of promoting huge gerrymanders of American society through state power and planning, do we dare trust that an elected Senator Clinton would avoid such megalomania?

It's clear our First Lady has a fervent I'll-tell-you-what's-good-for-you side that is potentially dangerous in any politician serving in a land of liberty. It could well be that she has sincerely decided to put this impulse aside, and instead adopt a personality and agenda more practical for elected officeholding. Gail Sheehy tells us Hillary has always wanted to win, to be on top, to grasp power. Perhaps her calculating, hardball political side has won out over her messianic side, and she will spend a Senate career, if elected, sponsoring harmlessly popular declarations of National Dairy Cow Month and bringing home federal pork for new subway cars. This banal moderation, if it truly prevails over her left-wing Puritan instinct, would indeed make her election no big deal.

But cautious voters won't want to count on Hillary Rodham Clinton's permanent conversion to political expedience. And even if she does convert, the poll-driven Dick Morris & Co. alternative to left-wing Puritanism carries its own downsides and dangers—as the presidency of Hillary's partner has shown over the last eight years.

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off The Shelf

A REGULAR REVIEW OF CLASSIC, OVER-LOOKED, NEWLY RELEVANT, OR OTHERWISE DESERVING OLDER BOOKS

BLACK LIKE WHO?

By Roger Clegg

Up from Slavery
By Booker T. Washington, 1901

The Souls of Black Folk
By W.E.B. DuBois, 1903

Thanks to Dover Thrift Editions, you can buy Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery* and W.E.B. DuBois's *The Souls of Black Folk* for two dollars each. (For another dollar, you can also get the 76-page autobiography *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*). These are wonderful bargains—because despite being nearly a century old, these complementary works have great insight into problems that bedevil us still.

The autobiography *Up from Slavery* traces Washington's life—his birth on a southwest Virginia plantation just before the Civil War, struggle to obtain an education in the post-bellum South, establishment of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, and emergence as a leading spokesman for black Americans—while interweaving his views on a variety of public policy issues, particularly education. It is personal and specific—sometimes overwhelmingly so, as when Washington discusses "the use and value of the bath" and "the influence of the tooth-brush."

DuBois's *The Souls of Black Folk* has its autobiographical elements, but it is essentially a collection of highly polished essays, ranging from history (a nuanced and evenhanded chronicle of the Freedmen's Bureau) to economics (the futility bred into sharecropping) to sociology (black churches). Reading it brings to mind the joke about a student complaining that *Hamlet* was good except for all the clichés. Phrases like "the Talented Tenth" and "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line" are DuBoisisms.

One can view Washington and DuBois as the progenitors of, respectively, a conservative black tradition (practical, no-nonsense, self-helping) and a liberal one (activist and integrationist *à la* the NAACP, which DuBois co-founded). But there is more to their tension than this simple conflict.

It is hard to pigeonhole, for instance, their disagreement over academic curricula. Washington criticizes the "craze for Greek and Latin learning" and says "one of the saddest things" he had seen was a young man "sitting down in a one-room cabin, with grease on his clothing, filth all around him, and weeds in the yard and garden, engaged in studying a French grammar." DuBois replies: "One wonders what Socrates and St. Francis of Assisi would say to this."

DuBois also has no patience with what lawyers now call "disparate impact" theory: the notion that nondiscriminatory standards somehow become discriminatory if they disproportionately affect racial minorities. So long as you don't use race, DuBois writes, "Draw lines of crime, of incompetency, of vice, as tightly and uncompromisingly as you will, for these things must be proscribed." Nor is his book consistent with today's affirmative action, since he yearns for "a morning when men ask of the workman, not 'Is he white?' but 'Can he work?' When men ask artists, not 'Are they black?' but 'Do they know?'"

Washington and DuBois each has his weaknesses. DuBois is more likely to excuse black failures and to blame the system. Washington is an Adam Smith capitalist, confident that filling an economic niche is the surest way to success. On the other hand, Washington's optimism—particularly about the goodwill of Southern whites—was in retrospect tragically naive, for most of the last century.

One of the greatest values of these two books is the way each deals with the cause-and-effect relationship between failure and discrimination that continues to challenge us today. DuBois notes both that prejudice limits what blacks can achieve and that black underachievement reinforces white prejudice. Prejudice and behaviors "act as reciprocal cause and effect," DuBois writes, and "both must change."

Washington also attacks prejudice, but in the end puts the burden on blacks to "cast down your bucket where you are" (as he put it in his famous Atlanta Exposition Address) and rely on themselves and their own efforts to rise. As prejudice diminishes—as it is doing today by any objective standard—the call to black self-help and self-improvement is more and more compelling.

Washington is likewise timely in stressing the importance of black self-respect and self-confidence. Recently, educators have emphasized the importance of communicating high expectations to students, after finding that when children sense that they are expected to fail, they will. A hundred years ago, Washington lamented that "when a white boy undertakes a task, it is taken for granted that he will succeed," but "people are usually surprised if a Negro boy does not fail."

Let's give the last word to DuBois: "The question of the future is how best to keep these millions [of African Americans] from brooding over the wrongs of the past and the difficulties of the present, so that all their energies may be bent toward a cheerful striving and co-operation with their white neighbors toward a larger, juster, and fuller future."

Roger Clegg is general counsel of the Center for Equal Opportunity.

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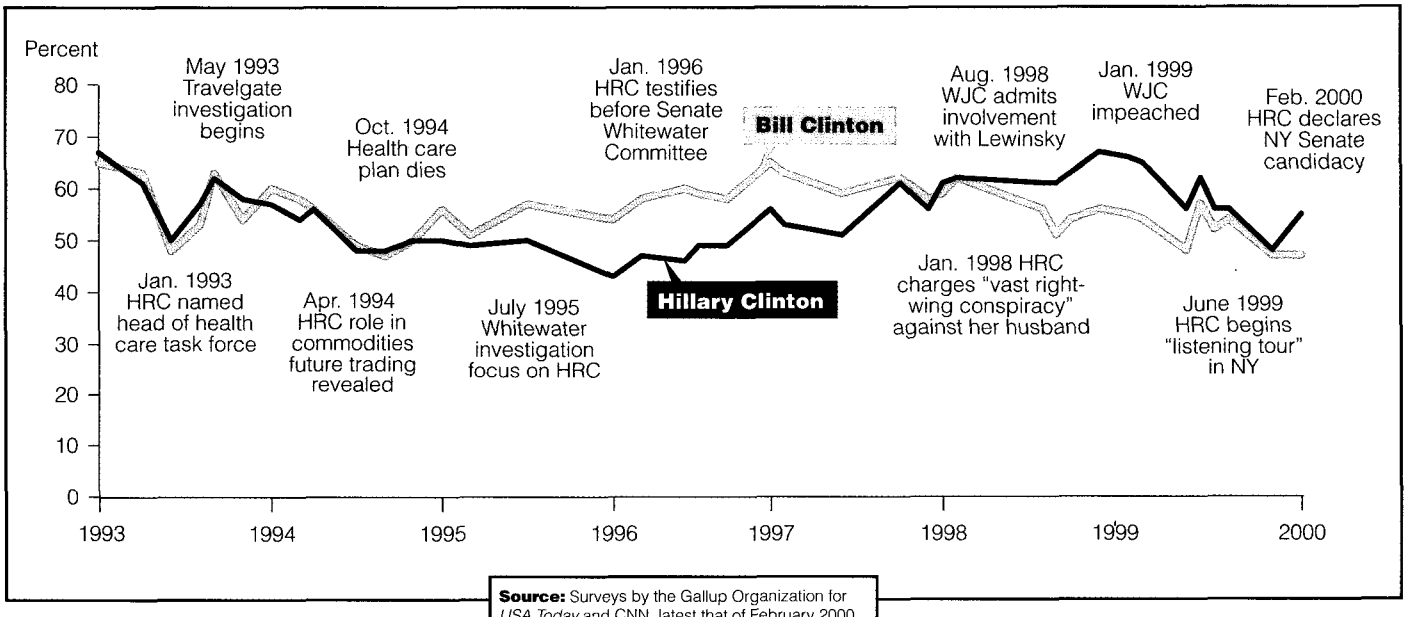
Opinion Pulse

EDITED BY KARLYN BOWMAN

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

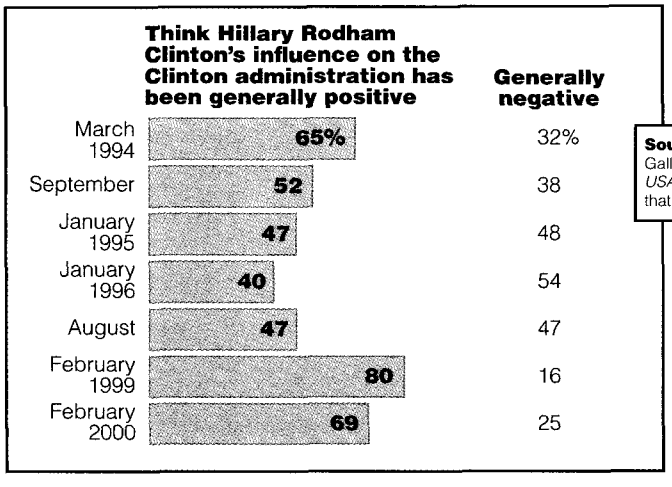
Public views about Hillary Rodham Clinton suffered with her involvement in the administration's health care initiative and during the Whitewater investigation. During the impeachment drama, her image improved and became more favorable than her husband's. Americans have been divided about her involvement in policy making. A near majority say they want the next First Lady to play about the same role in policy as Mrs. Clinton has played, 14 percent want her to play a more prominent role, and 34 percent a less prominent one.

Question: Do you have a favorable impression of Hillary Clinton/Bill Clinton?



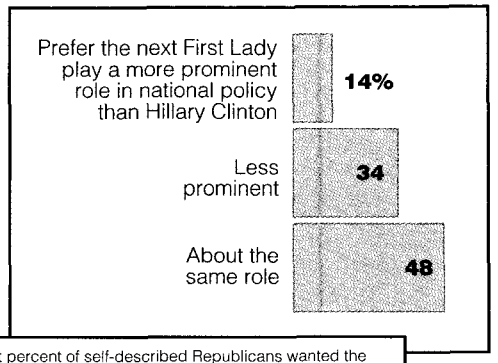
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization for *USA Today* and CNN, latest that of February 2000.

Question: Do you...?



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization for *USA Today* and CNN, latest that of February 2000.

Question: Regardless of who is elected president in 2000, would you...?



Note: Eight percent of self-described Republicans wanted the next First Lady to play a more prominent role, 53 percent a less prominent role, and 36 percent about the same. Those responses for Democrats were 16%, 20% and 59%, respectively. For Independents, they were 17%, 33% and 46%.
Source: Survey by CBS News, October 1999.

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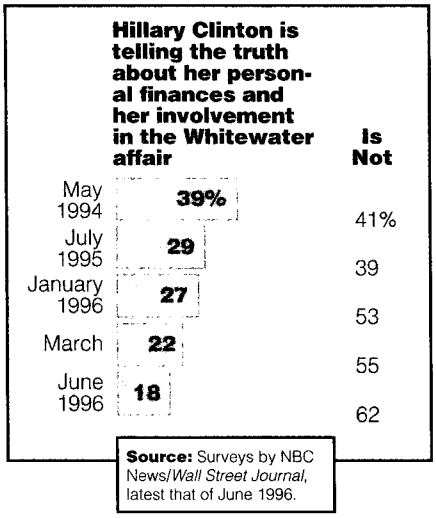
Honesty and Character

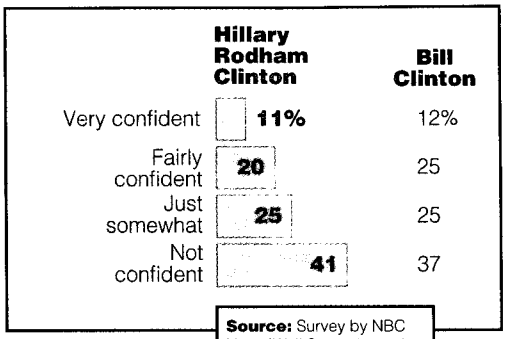
Doubts about the First Lady's honesty grew over the course of the Whitewater investigation. A solid majority of Americans believe that her comments about a right-wing conspiracy against her husband during the impeachment saga were political and not heartfelt. Two-thirds feel her husband's moral values and standards are weak or deplorable; three in ten feel that way about hers. Many people see her run for the Senate as a stepping stone to higher office, and two-thirds doubt that she is a life-long New York Yankee's fan.

Question: Do you think...?



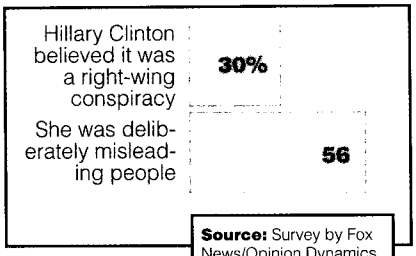
Source: Surveys by NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*, latest that of June 1996.

Question: How confident are you about the honesty and truthfulness of...?



Source: Survey by NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*, August 1996.

Question: During the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal, First Lady Hillary Clinton blamed the President's troubles on a right-wing conspiracy. Do you think...?



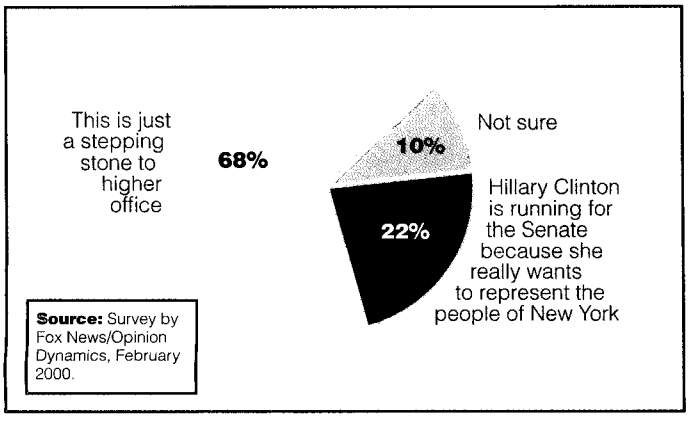
Source: Survey by Fox News/Opinion Dynamics, August 1999.

Question: I would like you to tell me whether this individual has....

	Hillary Rodham Clinton	Bill Clinton	Al Gore	George W. Bush	Colin Powell
Has ideal moral values and standards	11%	4%	10%	11%	37%
Good	34	11	42	46	43
Mixed	22	18	21	18	8
Weak	14	22	11	4	3
Deplorable	15	43	5	3	1

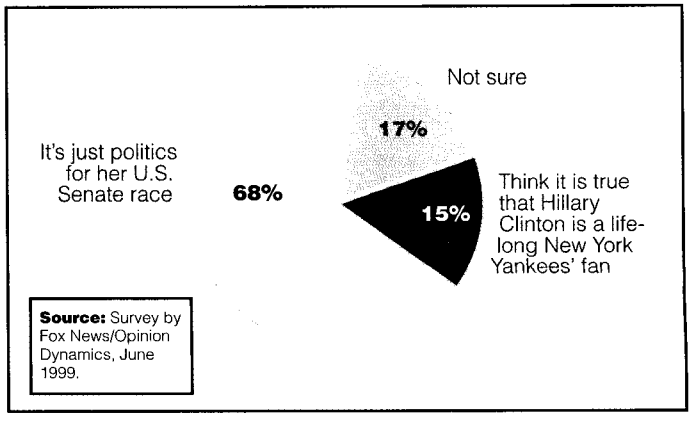
Source: Survey by NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*, June 1999.

Question: Do you think...?



Source: Survey by Fox News/Opinion Dynamics, February 2000.

Question: Hillary Clinton recently said she was a life-long New York Yankee baseball fan. Do you...?



Source: Survey by Fox News/Opinion Dynamics, June 1999.

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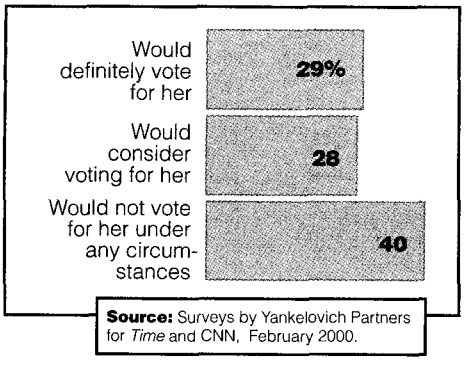
Candidate and Wife

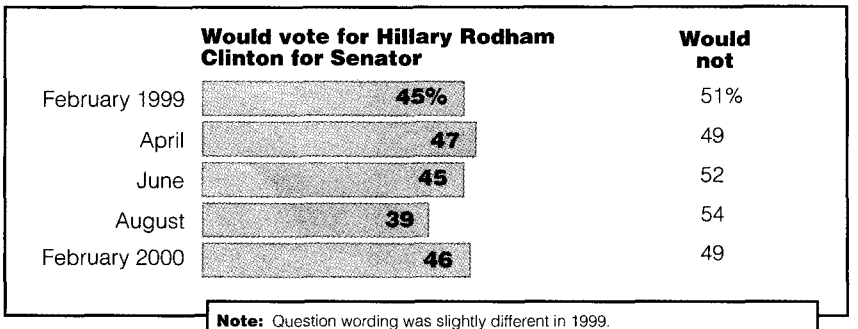
In the nation as a whole, views about Hillary Rodham Clinton's candidacy for the Senate are decidedly lukewarm. Around four in ten say they wouldn't vote for her under any circumstances if she were running in their state. The pollsters have had a field day asking people about the Clinton's marriage. Most people seem to admire her for sticking with it. Thirty-five percent told Gallup in late 1999 that she should divorce him, but a near majority said she should stay in her marriage.

Question: If Hillary Rodham Clinton were running for the U.S. Senate in your state...?



Source: Surveys by Yankelovich Partners for *Time* and CNN, February 2000.

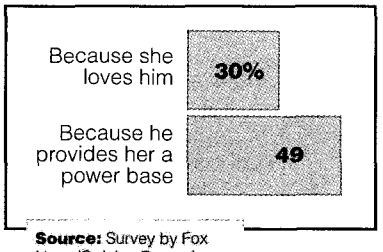
Question: As you may know, Hillary Rodham Clinton is running for the Senate in New York... Even though you may not live in New York State, I'd like your opinion. Suppose you lived in New York State,...?



Note: Question wording was slightly different in 1999.
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization for *USA Today* and CNN, latest that of February 2000.

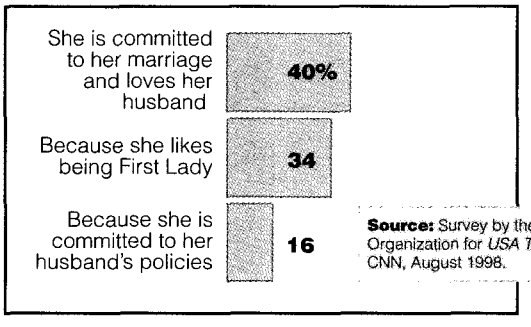
The Marriage

Question: Do you think Hillary Clinton, stays with her husband...?



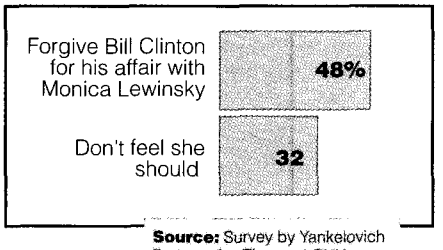
Source: Survey by Fox News/Opinion Dynamics, February 1998.

Question: Which of the following do you think is the main reason Hillary Clinton has stood by Bill Clinton through the entire Lewinsky matter...?



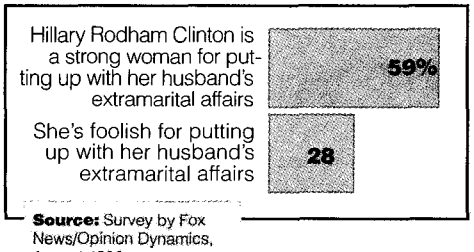
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for *USA Today* and CNN, August 1998.

Question: Do you think Hillary Clinton should...?



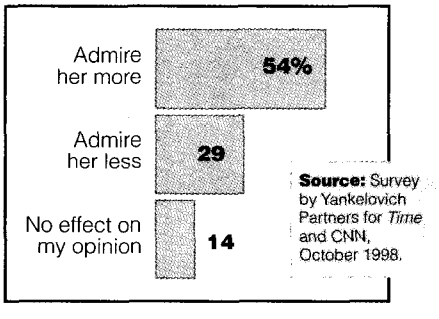
Source: Survey by Yankelovich Partners for *Time* and CNN, March 1999.

Question: Which comes closer to your opinion...?



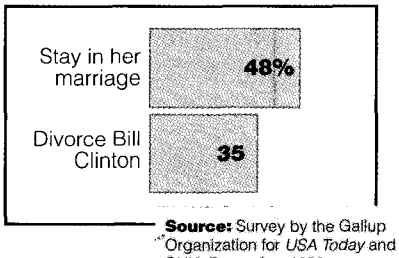
Source: Survey by Fox News/Opinion Dynamics, August 1998.

Question: Does the fact that Hillary Clinton has stood by Bill Clinton despite his behavior make you...?



Source: Survey by Yankelovich Partners for *Time* and CNN, October 1998.

Question: If you had the opportunity to advise Hillary Clinton in her personal affairs, what would you suggest she do...?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for *USA Today* and CNN, December 1999.

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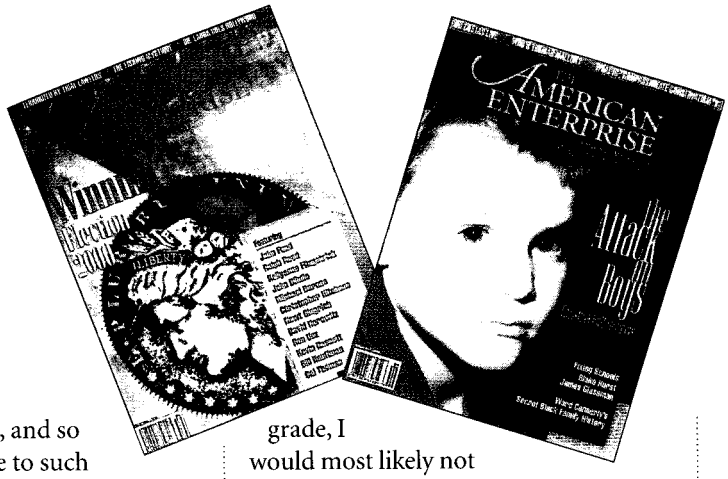
the Mail



David Horowitz clarified much in his article "Full-contact Politics" (April/May). I've always considered myself a reasonably professional politico—I've worked for liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans—but I never understood why Gore, Bonior, Carville, et al., found it necessary to slam their opponents constantly. They never seem to have anything good to say about the other side. I thought the Democrats were just ill-mannered. Now I know the real story.

Here's hoping Bush and his handlers read the article as well. At least it would level the playing field.

Dick Reed
Alexandria, Virginia

Balint Vasonyi notes that "group rights—the erosion of individual rights—began with black group rights" (SCAN, April/May). True, but if it weren't for the 52 percent of Americans who are female—the most traditionally entitled sector—the concept would never have been carried to the point where it is today.

Gene Hopp
Bellevue, Washington

Naomi Schaefer's piece "Pay for Gay Play" (SCAN, April/May) was particularly interesting in light of a conversation I recently had with a gay friend about the Boy Scouts. We were discussing normal parental concerns about confused young males who might be influenced by an openly gay scoutmaster to pursue a gay lifestyle.

My friend felt that an adult gay scoutmaster would be just as aware of his responsibilities to a child as a straight scoutmaster would be. He also believed young boys either are homosexual or they are not, and so they aren't susceptible to such influences unless they are already gay. Ms. Schaefer's article questions this second premise, as do I.

It seems to me that the cause of homosexuality is more nature than nurture, yet it also seems as if many young males are somewhat in the middle, between gay and straight. I agree with parents who are afraid that an early gay experience could tip the scales away from heterosexuality.

Though no one really knows if this is true, the fact that the question even exists seems more than sufficient reason for gays to sympathize with parents who love their children and so are worried about this possibility.

The gay community could gain more sympathy for their cause by accepting the normal manifestations of parents' concern for their children and encouraging the withdrawal of the homosexual lobby's lawsuit against the Boy Scouts of America.

James E. Farr
Chevy Chase, Maryland

As special education teacher, I realized I encounter many of the students described in Karl Zinsmeister's "Let Boys Be Boys" on a daily basis (BIRD'S EYE, June).

America is beginning to lose a second generation of boys. By the time I finally meet them in my classroom, the boys are usually 14 years old and possess a very negative attitude toward education. It is not an impossible task to direct them to fields in which they could succeed, but it is a very difficult one.

If there were a curriculum that was tailored for boys beginning with first grade, I would most likely not have a career as a special education teacher.

Patricia Yamrick
Rural Valley, Pennsylvania

Christina Hoff Sommers' "The War on Boys" (June) describes how progressive education replaces logic and structure with "self-esteem" enhancement, thereby victimizing little boys. The solution is to have market-based education that is so freed of present-day constraints that it even allows drill sergeants to teach all-male classes in some publicly financed grade schools.

But could parents be trusted to make the right choices? Sommers offers reassurance on this point with stories of feminist mothers who, after initially trying to educate their sons according to gender politics, soon realized they were harming the boys by forcing them to act against their very natures.

In a free education marketplace, parents could easily transfer their boys and girls to schools that work best for them. Put Mother Nature down as another supporter of charter schools, vouchers, and tuition tax credits.

Robert Holland
Lexington Institute

The SCAN (June 2000) on Matthew Barney's "art" reminded me of Mark Twain's comment on onanism: "As an amusement it is too fleeting. As an occupation, it is too wearing. As a public exhibition, there is no money in it." It looks as if Barney has overcome the third objection.

Terry A. Ward
via the Internet

The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send to "The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax to (202) 862-5867. Or e-mail TheAmericanEnterprise@compuserve.com. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

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"At least we have my health."

All I can think when I read about these bombings and shootings and natural disasters is we really should redo our kitchen while we're still around to enjoy it.

North American Syndicate; Mike Ritter

"Thank you for continuing to hold.
If you'd like us to contact your family
and let them know you're okay, press 1."

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Think Tank Among Top Five Most Influential Television Programs*

1. The Washington Post
2. The Wall Street Journal
3. The New York Times
4. The Washington Times
5. **The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer**
6. **Meet the Press**
7. Christian Science Monitor
8. Harvard Business Review
9. National Review
10. ABA Journal
11. **This Week with Sam & Cokie**
12. **NBC Nightly News**
13. **Think Tank with Ben Wattenberg**
14. Journal of American Medical Association
15. The New Republic
16. Technology Review
17. Fortune
18. **ABC World News Tonight**
19. **Fox News Sunday**
20. Financial Times
21. Forbes
22. Legal Times
23. The New England Journal of Medicine
24. Association Management
25. Foreign Affairs

*Survey of Congressional Leadership by Erdos and Morgan. Think Tank also ranked in the top ten most objective and enjoyable television programs in surveys of Executive Leadership, State and Local Leadership and Education Leadership.

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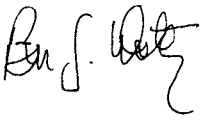
bwattenberg@aei.org

NEWS FROM THINK TANK

Delighted to be re-scheduled on **KCET-Los Angeles** filling the old Firing Line slot at 3:00 PM Saturdays Next **Think Tank** asks the question all America wants an answer to: "Is This the End of the Business Cycle As We Know It?" (at least the 50% who own stocks want the answer)...Program feeds February 24... Welcome to **WEAO** and **WNEO**, Cleveland-Akron-Youngstown....In 1999 two programs broke all our records for email, by far: an extended interview and display of the works of neo-traditional sculptor Frederick Hart (Vietnam Memorial *Three Soldiers*) and our retrospective of Norman Rockwell. The thrust of the mail was quite vigorous: "There's something wrong with modern art." We have begun work on a new **Think Tank** one-hour special: "Is There a Renaissance of Traditional Art"...and big news: starting later this year we expect to be on a schedule yielding up to FOUR **Think Tank** specials per year...finally, thanks to **KCTS-Seattle** for the new time on Sunday afternoons.

Best,



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...7 SEASONS, 300 PROGRAMS, 400 GUESTS AND COUNTING...

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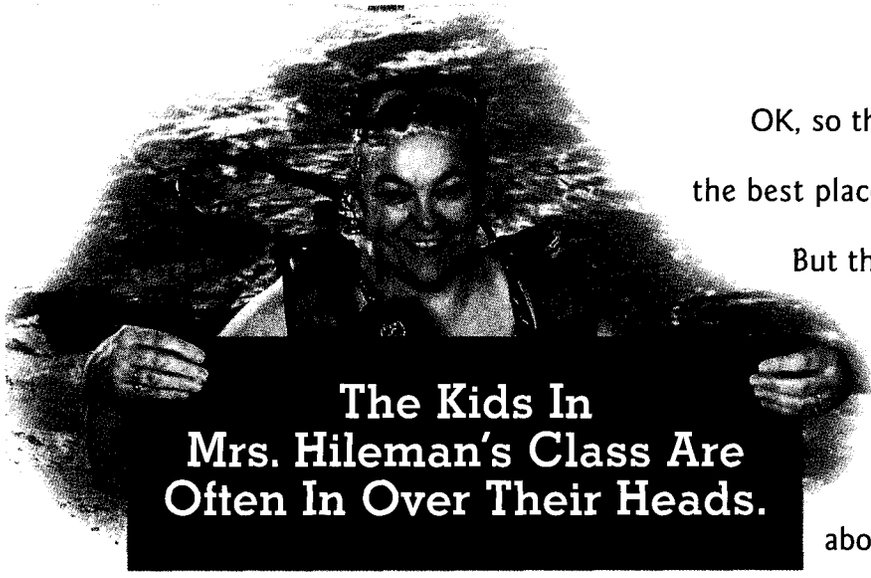

The Kids In Mrs. Hileman's Class Are Often In Over Their Heads.

OK, so the mountains of Wyoming may not be the best place to teach children about oceanography. But then fifth grade teacher Linda Hileman would never let the fact she lives 1,500 miles from the ocean ruin a good lesson plan. In fact, she not only teaches her class about our undersea world, she takes them there thanks to a little imagination and lots of borrowed scuba equipment. With the aid of several certified safety divers, Mrs. Hileman familiarizes her students with the equipment and basic techniques of scuba diving. Then she takes them diving at a neighborhood pool set up with underwater activity stations. There the students attempt tasks such as riding a tricycle, communicating via hand signals and other work-related tasks that give them an appreciation for the difficulties oceanographers face living and working underwater. For helping her land-locked students immerse themselves in the science of oceanography, State Farm is proud to present Linda Hileman with our Good Neighbor Award® and to donate $5,000 in her name to the Saratoga Elementary School Library, in Saratoga, Wyoming.

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Good Neighbor Award®

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